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# Sunday Los Angeles Times

SUNDAY, JUNE 15, 2025  
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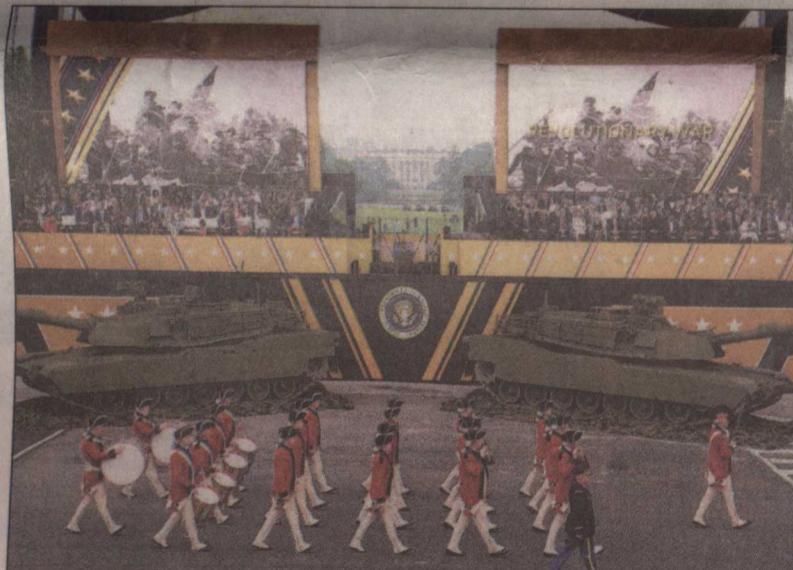


PROTESTERS carry the Constitution as they participate in a "No Kings" demonstration held in downtown Los Angeles on Saturday.

Slave law led way for troops in L.A.

## Trump stages military parade as millions unite to decry him

Army celebration in D.C. coincides with protests across nation



PRESIDENT Trump and guests watch U.S. Army members parade in period attire to mark the Army's anniversary Saturday in Washington.

## What do we tell the children about ICE?

By the time Josefina and her husband sat down to talk, the immigration raids had been going on for days, and protests over the federal actions had turned violent in parts of downtown Los Angeles.

At night, they could hear the helicopters from their Boyle Heights home.

The couple couldn't afford to put off the conversation any longer — fear was mounting over the potential separation of their family. Josefina's husband, a garment worker, is an undocumented immigrant from Mexico.

"A lot rides on what happens this weekend," said

Undocumented families grapple with how to handle crucial conversations during this scary time in Los Angeles

June 6, the couple's 15- and 19-year-old children had texted their father in a panic. He, too, works at a garment factory.

Should he go to work? That's what they had to hash out Tuesday night.

The couple was seated in the dining room. Their children were engrossed in a movie in the living room. The parents had not wanted their kids to hear the conversation — and figured they were out of earshot.

They weren't.

"Dad should just stay home," the

## 'No Kings' protests sweep L.A.

Tens of thousands of demonstrators take to streets, denouncing President Trump as a 'monarch.'

BY JAWEED KALEEM,  
RUBEN VIVES,  
REBECCA ELLIS  
AND CORINNE PURTILL

Tens of thousands of demonstrators fanned out across Southern California on Saturday for "No Kings" protests against President Trump, depicting the president as an aspiring monarch who violates democratic norms as he has clashed with California leaders over his deployment of the military to clamp down on at times violent protests sparked by immigration raids.

The images — signs referencing the nation's 1776 founding; crossed-out crowns; American, Mexican, Guatemalan and El Salvadoran flags; and the words "protest is patriotic" — stood in stark contrast to displays in Washington, D.C., where Trump's birthday coincided with a day of carefully orchestrated

[See 'No Kings,' A8]

### Bass takes direct aim at president

A reluctant brawler, the mayor is punching back against Trump's actions.

### The scramble to track ICE raids

Monitoring immigration agents' activity has become a somber pastime.

CALIFORNIA, B1

## Fashion District is largely deserted

Workers, customers and neighbors express worries over financial and physical security.

BY KAITLYN HUAMANI  
AND SUHAUNA HUSSAIN

An eerie quiet hung over the Fashion District in downtown Los Angeles on

## DOONESBURY By Garry Trudeau



YOU AND I ARE A GOOD TEAM, ARENT WE?

UH-HUH.

SOMEONE ONCE SAID,  
"INDIVIDUALLY WE'RE ONE DROP,  
BUT TOGETHER WE'RE AN OCEAN."

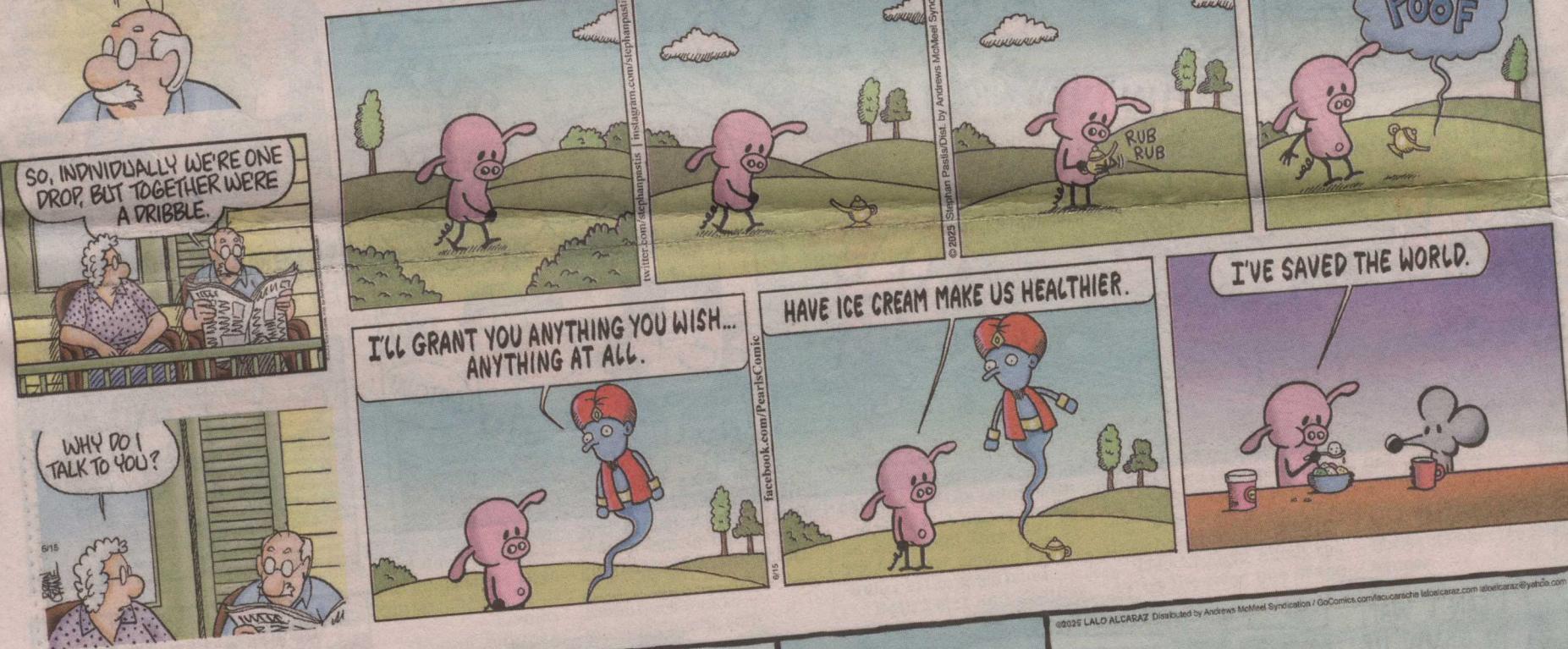
UH-HUH.

ISN'T THAT THE TRUTH?  
NOT REALLY. IF WE'RE EACH ONE DROP, THAT MAKES TWO DROPS.TWO DROPS IS NOT AN OCEAN.  
IT'S NOT EVEN A PUDDLE. IT'S MORE LIKE A DRIBBLE.

## CRABGRASS By Tauhid Bondia

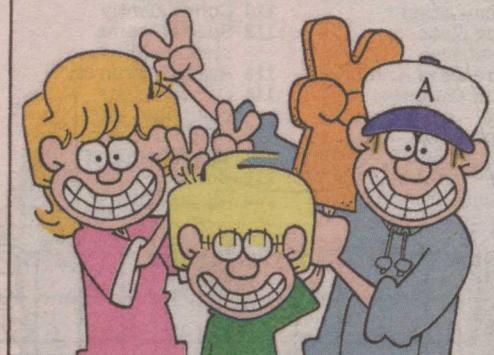


## PEARLS BEFORE SWINE By Stephan Pastis

LA CUCARACHA  
BY LALO ALCARAZ

# FoxTrot

by Bill Amend



## JUMP START

Starring JOE &amp; MARCY

BY ROB ARMSTRONG



IN THE BLEACHERS By Steve Moore



NON SEQUITUR By Wiley



CURTIS By Ray Billingsley



FRAZZ By Jef Mallett



# CALIFORNIA

SUNDAY, JUNE 15, 2025 • LATIMES.COM/CALIFORNIA



Photographs by GENARO MOLINA Los Angeles Times

NOEL H., a vendor at STG Logistics, center, embraces family in Compton after an ICE raid at the facility.

## As ICE raids escalate, so does public vigilance

For some Angelenos, tracking immigration agents on the streets has become a grim pastime and a form of protest

By CONNOR SHEETS

Giovanni Garcia pulled up to a dusty intersection in South Gate and scoped the scene. It was quiet, just folks walking home from work, but Garcia was among several people drawn there in hopes of bearing witness to one of the federal raids that have unfolded across Los Angeles County in recent days.

Just minutes before, several Instagram accounts had posted alerts warning that white pickup trucks with green U.S. Customs and Border Protection markings had been seen near the intersection.

With friends loaded into his white Grand Cherokee and a large Mexican flag flying out of the sunroof, this



GIOVANNI GARCIA, 28, has spent long days chasing alerts about immigration raids in South L.A.

## Some residents 'scared to death to come out'

By RUBEN VIVES,  
JAMES RAINIEY  
AND LIBOR JANY

A week of immigration sweeps across Southern California has left some communities eerily quiet, with some residents saying they are avoiding going out and attending to routine business out of fear of being stopped.

Among the places where residents and merchants say foot traffic is way down are the normally bustling MacArthur Park area, downtown Downey and the Fashion District, which saw a large immigration raid June 6. Some car washes, which were a frequent target of agents last week, have also temporarily closed.

Here is a sampling of how life is changing:

### South L.A.

These were the sounds you didn't hear coming from a school in South Los Angeles on Saturday: children laughing with their friends, parents whooping for their kids' first guitar solos and teachers gushing about the piano pupil who exceeded all expectations.

The music went silent this Father's Day weekend

at the Young Musicians Foundation.

The venerable school for working-class students canceled its traditional semester-ending concert and celebration because many of its students and parents were afraid that gathering would make them vulnerable to the Trump administration's immigration raids.

[See Underground, B5]

## Bass punches back in a new moment of crisis for L.A.

The mayor, known as a coalition builder, speaks forcefully against the president.

By DAVID ZAHNISER  
AND JULIA WICK

With Los Angeles reeling from immigration sweeps and unsettled by nightly clashes between protesters and police, Mayor Karen Bass was asked by a reporter: What did she have to say to President Trump?

Bass, standing before a bank of news cameras, did not hold back.

"I want to tell him to stop the raids," she said. "I want to tell him that this is a city of immigrants. I want to tell him that if you want to devastate the economy of the city of Los Angeles, then attack the immigrant population."

After taking office in 2022, L.A.'s 43rd mayor carefully avoided public disputes with other elected officials, instead highlighting her well-known penchant for collaboration and coalition-building.

The high-profile Democrat, who spent a dozen years in Congress, largely steered clear of direct confrontation with Trump, responding diplomatically even as he attacked her over her handling of the Palisades fire this year.

Those days of tiptoeing around Trump, and avoiding head-to-head conflict, are over.

Bass is now sparring with the president and his administration at a perilous moment for her city and pos-

sibly for democracy.

At the same time, the tumultuous events of the last week have given her a crucial opportunity for a reset after the Palisades fire, recalibrating her public image while leading her city through another historic crisis.

"Having two moments of crisis during the first six months of this year has really tested her mettle as mayor," said GOP political strategist Mike Madrid, a long-standing Trump critic. "I think it's fair to say she did not perform to expectations during the fires. I think she's considerably improved during the current situation."

Since agents with U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement and other federal authorities fanned out across the region, searching for undocumented immigrants at courthouses, car washes and Home Depot parking lots, Bass has accused Trump of creating a "terrible sense of fear" in her city.

Bass said Trump is on track to waste more than \$100 million on troops who were neither requested nor needed. On multiple occasions, she said Trump wrongly gave credit to the National Guard for bringing calm to downtown L.A. last Saturday, when those troops had not arrived yet.

In many ways, Trump has emerged as the ideal foil for a mayor who, for much of the last six months, had been on the defensive.

In the immediate aftermath of the Palisades fire, which erupted when she was out of the country, Bass struggled to show a com-

[See Bass, B6]

**Voices** STEVE LOPEZ COLUMNIST

## Protesting for her migrant dad: 'I'm speaking for those who can't'

He went back to work despite being shot. Now, his daughter demonstrates for him.

sisted, and in the tussle that ensued, a shot was fired.

Paramedics rushed the man to the emergency room at UCLA, where doctors determined that a bullet had just missed his heart and was lodged in his chest. Although doctors recommended hospitalization,

**He was attending her**

I first met Mario Lundes in 2017, when his daughter, Alexa, was 4 months old. As we talked in Alexa's room, surrounded by pink decorations and baby gear, Lundes reflected on his childhood home.

"It was not like this, quiet and peaceful," he said. "There were always people coming in and out. There would always be alcohol, fights."

Lundes was about 7 when his dad was sent to prison, and his mom was left to raise him and his siblings in a cold garage in South Los Angeles.

"I can say we both missed out," he said of his father. "Like, he missed out on us, and we missed out on him."

Looking back on his youth, Lundes said, "My parents didn't give me that attention, or that love, you know what I mean? All that, I found in the streets, by my older homeboys."

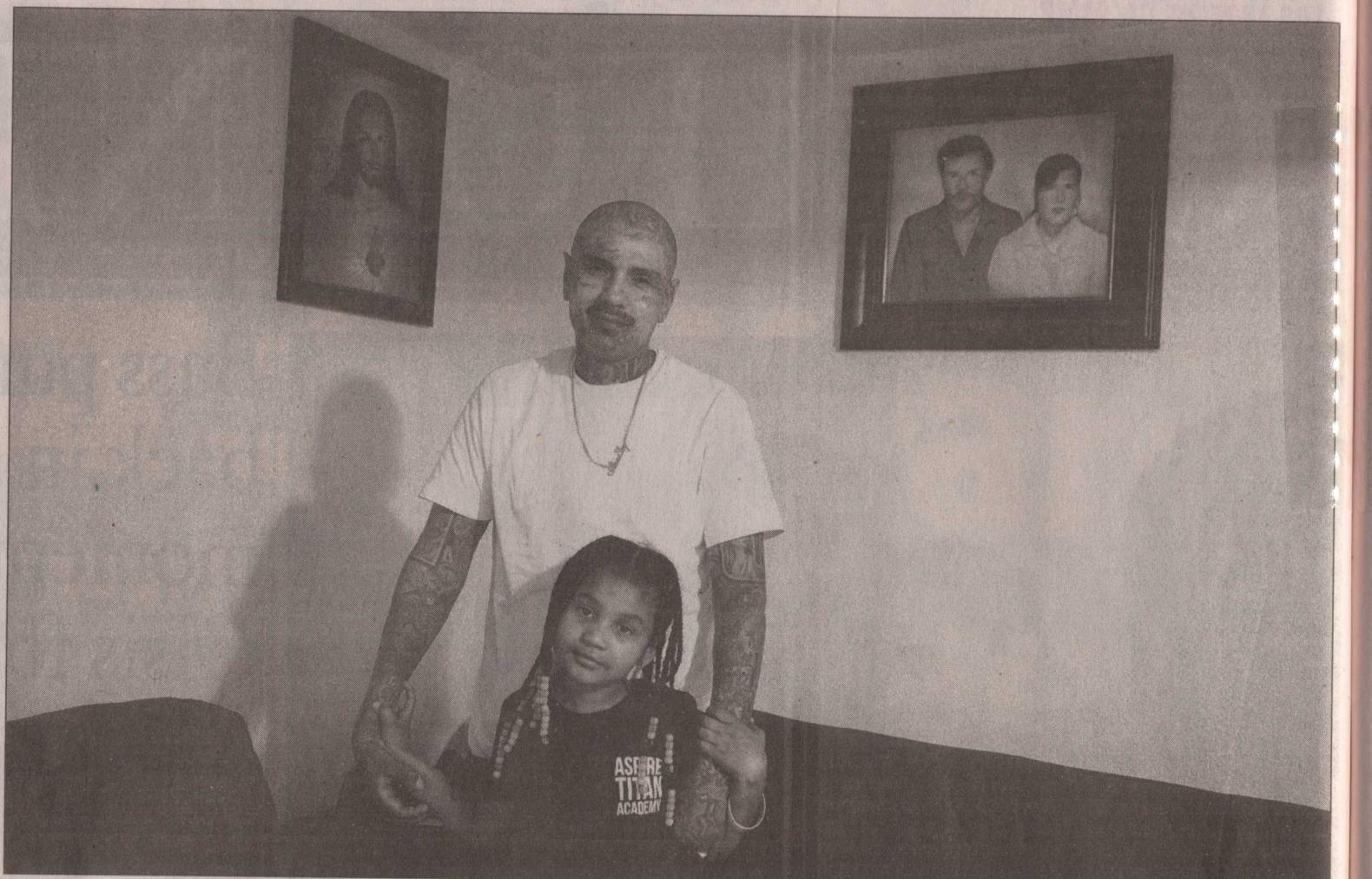
He was about 13, he remembers, when he joined his gang, and the older guys took him under their wing, giving him clothes and shoes. "They showed me that love, that respect, I needed." When he was hanging out with them, he felt happy. He'd finally found his family.

Lundes told me all that eight years ago. We reconnected this spring and Lundes reflected again on his difficult past and remarkable transformation.

He was gangbanging in junior high and "thought I was somebody big because my friends would protect me," he said. Sometimes the older gang members would "use the young homies to do their work." It was clear what was expected of him. "You run into the enemy, and you fight," he said.

With the fighting, the weapons and the robberies came incarceration. Lundes went from juvenile camp to juvenile camp and then to the California Youth Authority, the ineffective and poorly run state system that has since been shut down.

The juvenile prisons only worsened his situation and



Photographs by IVAN KASHINSKY For The Times

## Finding redemption in fatherhood

A former gang member and now devoted dad learns 'it's never too late'

BY IVAN KASHINSKY

reinforced his loyalty to gang life.

Lundes spent years in correctional facilities, released only to be picked up on the streets again. "Back then I knew I was probably going to do life in prison, or I was not going to make it to this age," he told me recently.

With each release from prison, Lundes would find out that more of his friends had been killed or sent back to prison. Feeling helpless and lonely, he started drinking heavily.

One day, he woke up in a hospital bed with a tube shoved down his throat. He had consumed so much al-

cohol that it had put him in a coma for days. He felt as though everyone had given up on him and imagined what the few people who visited him were thinking: "If you want to die, go ahead. You know, we're tired of you. You know, you don't change. You're never going to change."

Lundes was scared and had some time to think about his life. He decided to get help. He went to Homeboy Industries, the famous program founded by Father Gregory Boyle to help former gang members turn their lives around. Something clicked in the group therapy sessions. When he

Then a beautiful gift was given to him and suddenly he had a real sense of

purpose.

As he told me in 2017, "I had my little girl, and I got married. All that trust, I built it, little by little with my family members," he said.

"I'm grateful to be alive. I made some really bad decisions in my past. But it's never too late. I do regret a lot of the stuff I did. I have to live with that."

As Alexa grew, his life as a gangster slipped further into the past. I chatted with him again in 2023, and he seemed to have some clarity about his journey through life, the love he lacked as a child and the importance of being a good father.

"I'm grateful to feel this kind of love, the unconditional father love for my daughter," he said then. "Being sober and being an active father, a protector to my father, a princess, I'm so glad and blessed. Alexa Sky Lundes is 6 years old now and I enjoy every minute that I spend

the end of Lundes' day at Homeboy Industries, where he is an intake coordinator and performs other duties.

Her grandma cooked spaghetti and brought Alexa a cup of arroz con leche. Her grandpa, a friendly old man who was paroled decades ago, reached out to greet me, his whole body shaking from Parkinson's. Lundes still has bitter memories of his childhood, but he's also found a kind of peace with his folks, and has forgiven them for not being there for him when he was a boy.

They sat on the sofa watching an old Mexican movie as Alexa pounced on her father's shoulder, showed him her schoolwork and dragged him out into the yard to play tag. When she asked to walk around the block with him, Lundes froze. He knew it wasn't safe to walk around the neighborhood with his tattoos. They talked a bit in a se-

## Chilean foursome arrested in jewelry burglary

The suspects were charged with stealing over \$3 million in loot from Simi Valley.

BY ANDREW J. CAMPA

Security footage captured inside a strip mall showed three male suspects casing a Simi Valley jewelry store days before it was burglarized last month for more than \$3 million in jewelry and other valuables.

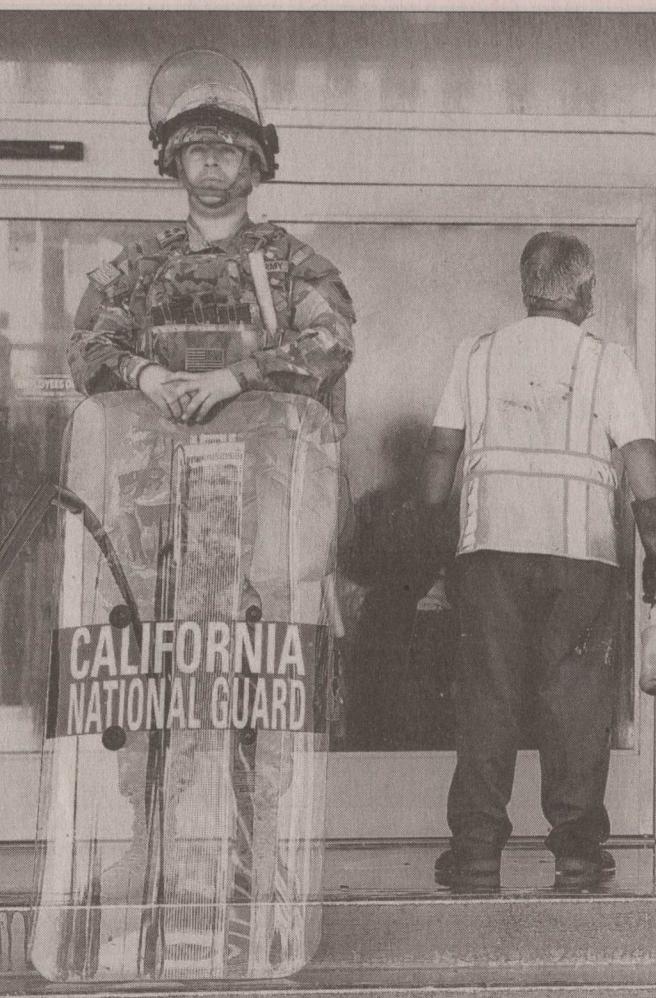
The men inspected ceiling access, potential camera angles and sat beside the shared wall separating 5 Star Jewelry & Watch Repair and a candy shop it bordered May 20, authorities alleged.

One of the suspects even mimicked spray-painting over a security camera, authorities allege.

Five days later, the suspects broke into the adjacent sweet shop overnight through the roof, used ladders and ropes to propel down, blacked out surveillance cameras and spent hours boring a hole through a wall and into a 5,000-pound safe to make off with jewelry, bullion, cash and heirlooms belonging to the jewelry store's customers, according to a criminal complaint.

That security footage was key in arresting four Chilean nationals with ties to an international theft ring, according to Simi Valley police. The suspects were charged with four felonies, Ventura County Dist. Atty. Erik Nasarenko announced at a press conference in front of the jewelry and repair shop Friday morning.

Manuel Ibarra, 38, Camilo Lara, 32, Sergio Mejia-Machuca, 27, and Heidy Trujillo, 26, were charged with two counts of conspiracy to receive stolen property and two counts of conspiracy to commit com-



GRAFFITI GONE

A California National Guardsman stands at downtown L.A.'s federal building as work



# Officials draw a line between 'agitators' and protesters

By DAVID ZAHNISER

L.A.'s Little Tokyo neighborhood was a mess last Monday. Windows were shattered in multiple locations. Graffiti seemed like it was everywhere. State Assemblymember Mark Gonzalez (D-Los Angeles) had had enough.

Gonzalez, who took office in December, had already voiced outrage over the immigration raids being conducted in his downtown district. But this time, he took aim at the people he called "anti-ICE rioters," portraying them as narcissists and urging them to stay far away from the demonstrations happening downtown.

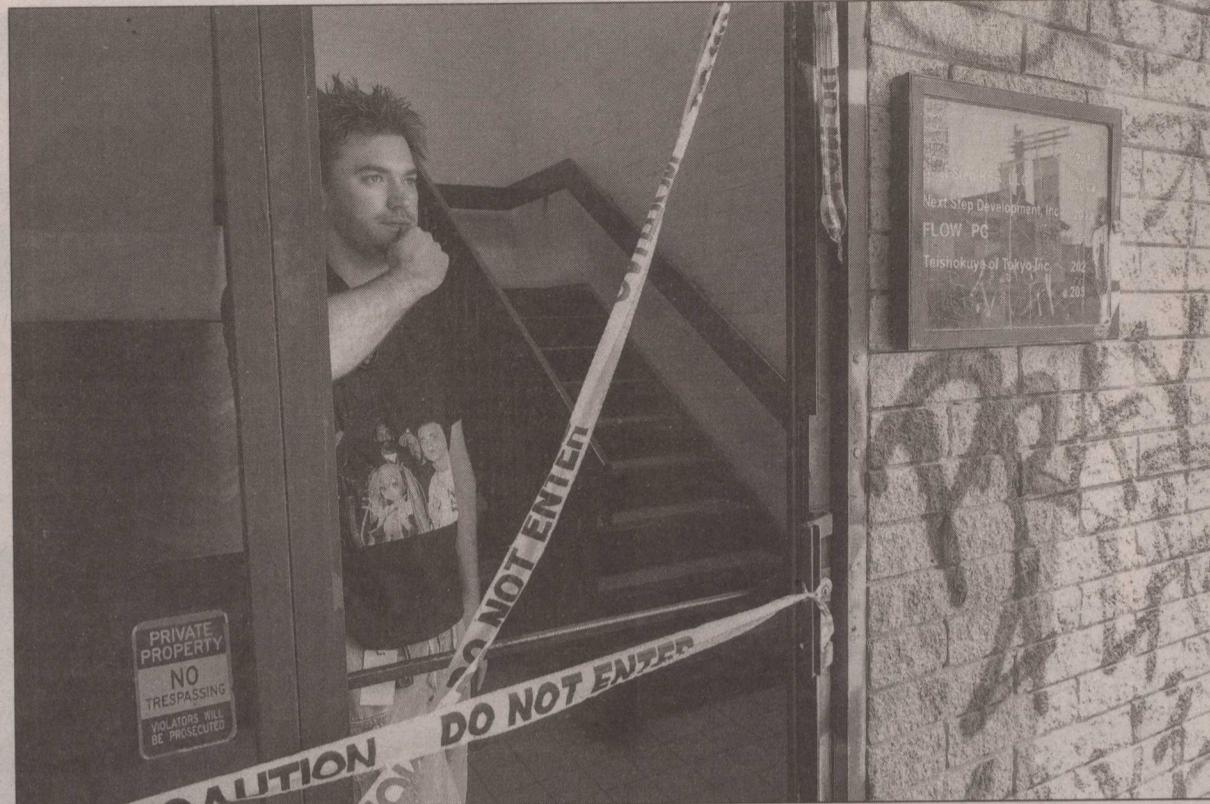
"Causing chaos, damaging neighborhoods, and live-streaming for likes helps no one," he said in a lengthy news release. "Our elders, small businesses, and public spaces deserve better."

Gonzalez did not stop there. He chided demonstrators for spray-painting historic landmarks and pointing fireworks at police, telling them that "terrorizing residents is not protest."

"If you're out here chasing clout while our neighbors are scared and storefronts are boarded up — you're not helping, you're harming," said Gonzalez, a former chair of the Los Angeles County Democratic Party. "You're playing right into Trump's hands and undermining the very movement you claim to support."

Politicians in L.A. have been reacting all week to the reports of violence, theft and vandalism that accompanied a week of anti-ICE protests. But each one has had a somewhat different way of naming the perpetrators — and summing up their actions.

Los Angeles City Councilmember Ysabel Jurado, whose district also includes much of downtown, was more muted in her descrip-



GRiffin Paisley inside the damaged Little Tokyo building on Tuesday that houses his card trading business.

tion of the people who created mayhem this week, referring to them as "agitators" and "opportunist."

Agitators? Narcissists? L.A. politicians search for the words to sum up protest chaos.

"Look, for the most part, this has been a peaceful protest," Jurado said in an interview. "But there are definitely some other folks that join that are not here to support immigrants and peacefulness, but are taking this as an opportunity to do something else. And I definitely condemn that."

Jurado has spent the last few days highlighting her efforts to secure small business loans for struggling downtown businesses, especially those that were vandalized or had merchandise stolen. She is also pushing for city leaders to find another \$1 million to pay for the le-

gal defense of immigrants who have been detained or face deportation.

At the same time, the events of the past week have put Jurado in an awkward spot. Luz Aguilar, her economic development staffer, was arrested last weekend on suspicion of assaulting a police officer at an anti-ICE protest.

Normally, an aide like Aguilar might have been tasked with helping some of the downtown businesses whose windows were smashed or wares were stolen. Instead, Jurado faced questions about Aguilar while appearing with Mayor Karen Bass at the city's Emergency Operations Center.

The LAPD has repeatedly declined to provide specifics on the allegations against Aguilar, whose father is Chief Deputy Con-

troller Rick Cole. The Los Angeles Police Protective League, the union representing rank-and-file officers, said in an email to its members that Aguilar has been accused of throwing a frozen water bottle at officers.

Neither Cole nor Jurado's staff would confirm or refute that assertion. Jurado, in an interview, also declined to say whether she sees her staffer as one of the agitators. "She is on unpaid leave, and we'll see what happens," she said.

The search for the right words has not been limited to downtown politicians.

Council President Marquece Harris-Dawson offered a lengthy soliloquy, saying police in recent days had encountered "looters coming out of stores with merchandise in their hands" who are using the ongoing

protests as cover.

"Someone at midnight running around looting, even though there was a protest earlier, that person's not a protester," Harris-Dawson told his colleagues Tuesday. "That person's a looter. That person's a criminal."

The same terms apply after Dodgers victories, Harris-Dawson said, when someone in a street celebration decides to set things on fire. "We don't say Dodger fans burned a building. We say criminals burned a building," he said.

Bass declared a local state of emergency in the wake of the downtown chaos, citing the violence against police, the vandalism and the "looting of businesses." The declaration, issued Tuesday, refers to the perpetrators as criminals.

The mayor sounded genuinely frustrated, telling The

Times on Thursday that she was "horrified" by the graffiti that covered the Japanese American National Museum, which highlights the struggle of immigrants, and other buildings in Little Tokyo. "Anybody that is committing vandalism or violence does not give a crap about immigrants," she told another news outlet.

Gonzalez, for his part, said he produced his anti-rioter screed after hearing from senior citizens in Little Tokyo who were terrified to leave their homes and walk into the melee on the street.

"They were literally throwing fireworks at cops' faces at San Pedro and 3rd," he said.

Other downtown residents sounded unfazed, telling The Times that the disruptions were "kind of the usual." In recent years, major sports victories have been just as likely to end with illegal fireworks, graffiti and burning or vandalized vehicles downtown — even when the games aren't played there.

Jurado said she is searching for "creative solutions" to prevent such crimes in the future, such as promoting the fact that downtown businesses are in "full support of the protests."

"There were Little Tokyo businesses that weren't graffitied on because they had a sign on the window that was proactively 'Know your Rights,' or against ICE," she said. "So they didn't get graffitied on. At least that's from my anecdotal evidence."

"So I think if we put that at the forefront, we can help educate our community members to keep our neighborhoods safe and beautiful," she said.

This article appeared in the June 14 L.A. on the Record, The Times' local politics newsletter. To subscribe, visit latimes.com/newsletters.

## 'Lunging' claim against Padilla is loaded language in war on dissent

[Chabria, from B1]

Just ask my inbox.

"Here is what your article should have said," wrote one fan of my column about the incident. "DEI appointee Senator Alex Padilla, dressed like a truck driver and acting like a potential attacker or mental case, burst into a press conference being conducted by a high ranking member of the Cabinet and started shouting and interrupting her."

Another reader put that dog-whistle racism more succinctly.

"No Juan above the law," the reader quipped.

We'll get to whether Padilla lunged or not and just how dangerous a lunge really is. But the larger issue is the alternate reality the Trump administration is building to cultivate fear and build support for a military crackdown. The ask isn't that we believe Padilla was a threat, but that we believe America has devolved into an immigrant-induced chaos that only the military can quell, and that Trump needs the powers of a king to lead the military to

our salvation.

So the question isn't really whether Padilla lunged or not — since, as the video shows, it's clear he was nowhere close to Noem and had no intent to harm — but rather why Noem chose to call it a lunge.

"It was very disingenuous of Kristi Noem to make the claim that he lunged at her," Joan Donovan told me. She's an expert on disinformation and an assistant professor of journalism at Boston University.

"The Trump administration is salivating over a major contestation that would allow them to roll the military out into any old town," she said. "They are making it seem as if without this kind of major intervention and excessive force, that these people are ungovernable."

Padilla, the son of Mexican immigrants, is known to be a level-headed guy. My colleague Gustavo Arellano describes him as a "goody-two-shoes."

But these aren't level-headed days. Padilla said that he was in the federal building on Thursday for a briefing with a general, because for weeks he's been trying unsuccessfully to get answers about how

block his way then begin pushing him back. Padilla seems to continue to push forward, but is overpowered and forced into the hallway. It's here where he's taken to the ground and cuffed.

It's hard to see a lunge in there. And if there was one, it was from at least a good 10 feet away from Noem, at a minimum. Use-of-force expert Ed Obayashi told me that in situations such as this, law enforcement officers are expected to use their judgment on what is a danger.

"They were trying to keep him from approaching," Obayashi said, pointing out it was the officers' job to protect Noem. "They were trying to do what they could under the circumstances to prevent him from getting closer."

But, he added, from what we can see in the videos, it doesn't look like Padilla showed "intent" to cause harm and he was really far away. Distance makes a difference when judging whether a lunge is a threat.

"It doesn't seem like he was going to rush up," Obayashi said.

So, to be fair to officers who may or may not have at first realized they were manhandling a U.S. senator,

hall and he starts yelling, 'Let him go! Let him go!'

And of course, Padilla was yelling that he was a senator, and forcefully denies any lunge.

"I wasn't lunging at her or anybody, and yes, I identified myself," he said on CNN.

Noem, of course, could have said something in the moment to defuse the situation. She could have asked Padilla back into the room to answer his question.

Padilla said the two met after the news conference and spoke for about 15 minutes, which means Noem knew his intentions when she later accused him of "lunging."

So what could have been handled as an unfortunate encounter was instead purposely upgraded for propaganda purposes. Shortly after Noem's statement, the White House press secretary posted on X that Padilla "recklessly lunged toward the podium," cementing that narrative into right-wing consciousness.

For weeks, the Trump administration has been ramping up its war on dissent. Weeks before Padilla was handcuffed, U.S. Rep. LaMonica McIver (D-N.J.)

would remain in Los Angeles despite protests, where hundreds have been cited or arrested. By Friday, Marines had been deployed in Los Angeles, with little clarity on whether their guns contained live rounds and under what circumstances they were authorized to fire.

"We are staying here to liberate the city from the socialists and the burdensome leadership that this governor and that this mayor have placed on this country and what they have tried to insert into the city," Noem said, right before Padilla interrupted.

Liberate an American city. With troops.

Quash dissent. With fear.

A survey last fall by PRRI found that 26% of Republicans say that "it is necessary for the progress of this country that the president has the power to limit the influence of opposing parties and groups."

It also found that there is a "strong overlap among Americans who hold Christian nationalist and authoritarian views."

If it is the case that Trump and Kristi Noem and Pete Hegseth are going to continue arresting Democratic representatives, then

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GAMES**



**WORKPLACE BIZBUTS**

# Some neighborhoods go quiet amid ICE raids

**[Underground]** from B1  
and Customs Enforcement arrests around Southern California, many parents in the working class neighborhood east of USC pulled their kids from classes last week.

Even more families, including those legally in the U.S., said they wouldn't attend Saturday's concert, which was subsequently canceled, out of an abundance of caution to avoid being arrested and having to spend weeks proving their legal status.

"One by one, they were calling this week, saying, 'It breaks our heart, but we are scared to death to come out,'" said Walter Zooi, executive director of the Young Musicians Foundation. "Folks are being disconnected from their families, from their communities, from these kinds of opportunities, which they love."

Instead of the traditional party — and an accompanying feast of pizza, pupusas and other Mexican and Central American foods — students handed in their borrowed instruments Friday and quietly said their farewells. One mother said she was saddened but felt she had no choice but to pull her 12-year-old daughter out of classes at YMF.

"She misses being with her friends and she is missing out on being inspired by the other students," said the woman, who gave only her middle name, Esther, because she said she was concerned about being targeted. "And as parents we are missing seeing that happiness when they are done performing and the satisfaction they get from the applause and encouragement."

Esther's U.S.-born daughter, who first struggled to plunk out "Mary Had a Little Lamb" on piano, now sends her fingers flying over the keyboard, delivering American pop classics and tunes from her parent's native Mexico.

"She sees this place like an oasis," said Esther, a computer tech, who says her daughter has sometimes struggled with anxiety. "This program is like therapy. It's something that helps her, that makes her better."

One of the YMF teachers is Andy Abad. Himself the L.A.-born son of immigrants, the guitarist went on to perform with Jennifer Lopez and the Backstreet Boys, among others, and to record with Lady Gaga and Bonnie Raitt.

He now teaches at USC and a couple of days a week at the YMF school, tucked into the ground floor of a subsidized housing complex. He started teaching at the school to give a role model to students, many of whom have never had access to instruments or music lessons.

"These immigrants work hard. They pay Social Security and other taxes. They just want to live," Abad said. "That's something some current political leaders don't want you to realize. They want to demonize them and to scapegoat them."

"It's affecting everyone," said Abad, "and especially these kids."

## Westlake District

On Friday morning, the

I mean, most of us are U.S. citizens, but again, if there's someone that we may know in the gym [who isn't], we're gonna make



LUKE JOHNSON Los Angeles Times

**IMMIGRATION** sweeps have left some communities eerily quiet, with some saying they are staying home out of fear of being stopped.



RUBEN VIVES Los Angeles Times  
**SABRINA MEDINA**, a pregnant mother, said agents raided her home Thursday.

area around MacArthur Park, an immigrant hub west of downtown, was noticeably quieter than usual.

Gone were many of the vendors who once lined South Alvarado Street at all times of day, selling everything from baby formula to Lionel Messi jerseys.

"There's like sadness, maybe grief. I think a lot of fear, a lot of fear is going around these communities. And yeah, people are walking around just very cautious, very cautious," said Cristina Serrano, 37, as she was doing mitt work at Panda Boxing Gym, near the corner of Westlake Avenue and 8th Street.

At Panda Boxing, the gym's owner now regularly walks up and down the block looking for signs of trouble and to make sure that people in the gym feel safe, Serrano said.

"These immigrants work hard. They pay Social Security and other taxes. They just want to live," Abad said. "That's something some current political leaders don't want you to realize. They want to demonize them and to scapegoat them."

"It's affecting everyone," said Abad, "and especially these kids."

sure we protect them and keep them safe," she said. "In general, that's where we stand as far as this gym."

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"I screamed at them: 'Why are you recording me?'" she said. "I started screaming because I thought, you know, something bad was going to happen to me."

She said the people in the van didn't respond. Scared for her four children, Medina went inside the house and called her husband, Jorge Saldana, 30, who was at a nearby laundromat washing clothes. She told him what happened and that he needed to come home.

She and her husband got into an argument about his immigration status, she said. Medina worried immigration officials were now targeting him and their house. At one point, she told her husband she didn't want him attending his 10-year-old daughter's graduation.

She said the argument ended with her husband storming out of the house.

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She explained she had just finished showering and needed to get dressed, as well as wake up her kids. Medina asked the soldiers to put down their guns and they did, she said.

Eventually, the family walked out and stood in the driveway as the men in fatigues searched the house for her husband, Medina said. He was not home at the time.

As she, her brother-in-law and her kids waited in the driveway, Medina said, she spotted Noem watching the operation. She said she also spotted a video crew and someone she believed to be Dr. Phil McGraw — the TV personality — sitting in an SUV.

The sight of Noem in a baseball hat and ballistic vest was startling, and Medina said she began to record her with her phone.

"I got scared. I did recognize her. I was like, 'What is she doing in my house?' So I started recording her," Medina said.

The pregnant mother said Noem was laughing and appeared as if she was "waiting for something to happen."

Cameras inside and outside the home captured the men in fatigues walking around and searching the house. The men left shortly after, Medina said. There were at least a dozen men in fatigues, according to Medina and videos reviewed by The Times.

She hasn't spoken to her husband since the raid on their home and is now worried how she will be able to pay this month's \$3,000 rent. Her husband was the main breadwinner.

The incident has traumatized her four kids, whose ages range from 2 to 10, said Medina, who is four months pregnant with twin boys.

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## Behind a rumor of an ICE raid on a homeless shelter

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LUKE JOHNSON Los Angeles Times



RUBEN VIVES Los Angeles Times

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area around MacArthur Park, an immigrant hub west of downtown, was noticeably quieter than usual.

Gone were many of the vendors who once lined South Alvarado Street at all times of day, selling everything from baby formula to Lionel Messi jerseys.

"There's like sadness, maybe grief. I think a lot of fear, a lot of fear is going around these communities. And yeah, people are walking around just very cautious, very cautious," said Cristina Serrano, 37, as she was doing mitt work at Panda Boxing Gym, near the corner of Westlake Avenue and 8th Street.

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JASON ARMOND Los Angeles Times

**L.A. MAYOR** Karen Bass alleged that immigration agents appeared at a homeless shelter Thursday.

the nonprofit Hope the Mission, has beds for about 150 people in shed-like structures off the 170 Freeway near Whitsett Avenue and Saticoy Street.

According to Laura Harwood, Hope the Mission's deputy chief program officer, people in a car tried to get access to the tiny home village on Thursday after-

noon, telling security guards that they were American citizens who wanted to see how their taxpayer dollars were being used. The guards did not admit the visitors, who were wearing civilian clothes.

"This is a really unusual situation. This really doesn't happen," Harwood said.

Other employees saw

some men looking into the complex from different sides and taking pictures.

A worker at the tiny home village, who requested anonymity because he has family members who are undocumented, told The Times that he was returning from lunch when he spotted two DHS SUVs with tinted windows down the block.

Tiny home staffers were concerned enough that they reached out to City Councilmember Adrin Nazarian, who came to the complex.

"We got reports that some ICE agents were around in the area viewing the location from both the front and the backside entryways," Nazarian said on Instagram.

Nazarian said that immigration agents appearing at the tiny home village would be a "fear mongering" tactic.

The targeting of interim homeless housing could dissuade people from moving off the street, or push those

in shelters to leave out of fear, said Rowan Vansleve, Hope the Mission's president.

"Last Thursday, ICE entered our city, and provoked the city, by chasing people through Home Depots and car washes and showing up at schools. And today, showing up at emergency rooms and homeless shelters," Bass said at the Thursday news conference.

Bass' team confirmed to The Times that she was referring to the incident at the Whitsett West Tiny Home Village.

City Councilmember Euless Hernandez said that community organizations and local elected officials have been sorting through reports of DHS sightings to see if they are credible.

"We have seen situations where people say federal agents are here, and then when someone goes, it turns out they were never there or were gone an hour ago," Hernandez said.

Bass says officials showed up at a tiny home village; DHS denies the allegation.

By NOAH GOLDBERG

At a news conference Thursday, Mayor Karen Bass made a startling claim.

U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents had appeared at a homeless shelter that day, among other sensitive locations in Los Angeles, she said.

But what actually happened at the Whitsett West Tiny Home Village in North Hollywood remains murky. The shifting narratives reflect the anxiety of Angelenos amid ICE raids targeting immigrants at Home Depots, churches and retail centers.

In L.A., a "sanctuary city" where local officials do not participate in federal immi-

McNeil Syndication  
atulli@gmail.com

Inner waters: Wind northwest 15-25 knots, becoming 20-30 knots. Waves 3-6 feet. Mixed west and south swell 2-4 feet.

**Surf zone:** The risk for rip current will be high at L.A., Ventura and Orange county beaches and moderate at other area beaches.

County	Height	Period	Direction	Temp
Santa Barbara	2-4'	14 sec	S	61
Ventura	3-6'	14 sec	S	61
Los Angeles	3-6'	16 sec	S	66
Orange	3-6'	16 sec	S	66
San Diego	2-4'	16 sec	S	67

## Tides

L.A. Outer Harbor, in feet.

Today	2:16p	3.6 Hi	7:12a	-0.4 Lo
Mon.	12:17a	5.2 Hi	7:55a	-0.1 Lo
	3:02p	3.8 Hi	7:34p	2.8 Lo

## UV index

Minutes to burn for sensitive people

Las Vegas, 10	Phoenix, 10
Los Angeles, 10	San Francisco, 10

## Sun and moon

Today's rise/set

Los Angeles Co.	Orange Co.	Ventura Co.
Sun 5:41a/8:06p	5:41a/8:04p	5:45a/8:11p
Moon 11:46p/9:40a	11:45p/9:39a	11:51p/9:44a

## Almanac

Saturday Downtown readings

Temperature	Los Angeles	Fullerton	Ventura*	Precipitation	Los Angeles	Fullerton	Ventura*
High/low	82/63	80/63	66/55	24-hour total (as of 2 p.m.)	0.00	0.00	0.00
Normal/high/low	77/61	79/62	71/55	Season total (since Oct. 1)	7.96	3.93	6.50
High/low a year ago	78/60	80/61	68/57	Last season (Oct. 1 to date)	22.15	16.59	24.79
Record high/date	100/1917	94/2021	82/1981	Season norm (Oct. 1 to date)	14.08	11.67	15.89
Record low/date	49/1891	58/2010	48/1967	Humidity (high/low)	86/65	51/40	96/77

## California cities\*

City	Sat.*		Today		Mon.		
	Hi	Lo	Prcp.	Hi	Lo	Hi	Lo
Anaheim	82	60	--	88	62	86	63
Avalon/Catalina	74	60	--	77	64	78	64
Bakersfield	96	65	--	97	66	96	64
Barstow	107	74	--	110	77	109	74
Big Bear Lake	81	43	--	87	48	86	49
Bishop	100	51	--	100	54	95	54
Burbank	85	62	--	90	64	89	63
Camarillo	71	56	--	78	57	79	58
Chatsworth	88	62	--	94	65	91	66
Chino	93	59	--	98	62	96	60
Compton	75	61	--	82	63	81	63
Dana Point	71	61	--	73	62	74	65
Death Valley	117	84	--	119	96	120	91
Del Mar	70	61	--	67	60	69	63
Escondido	82	55	--	87	56	90	57
Eureka	57	46	--	57	49	60	45
Fallbrook	82	56	Tr	87	56	88	58
Fresno	95	62	--	97	65	95	63
Fullerton	82	62	--	87	63	84	64
Hemet	96	56	--	104	58	102	55
Hesperia	91	59	--	100	64	97	60
Huntington Beach	73	63	--	74	64	75	64
Idyllwild	86	64	--	91	67	91	66
Irvine	79	61	--	84	63	81	63

City	Sat.*		Today		Mon.		
	Hi	Lo	Prcp.	Hi	Lo	Hi	Lo
L.A. D'town/USC	82	60	--	86	63	84	62
L.A. Int'l. Airport	71	60	--	74	61	72	60
Laguna Beach	69	61	--	73	63	74	64
Lancaster	97	67	--	103	72	99	68
Long Beach	77	62	--	82	63	81	64
Mammoth Lakes	73	44	--	78	45	75	37
Mission Viejo	83	60	--	87	62	85	62
Monrovia	89	64	--	93	66	91	66
Monterey	62	50	--	63	51	62	51
Mt. Wilson	80	63	--	73	66	73	60
Needles	110	83	--	116	83	115	85
Newport Beach	70	63	--	75	65	75	65
Northridge	88	61	--	94	64	90	67
Oakland	64	53	--	67	53	66	52
Oceanside	76	59	--	80	57	82	59
Ojai	83	58	--	88	58	88	61
Ontario	91	64	--	97	65	96	65
Palm Springs	107	78	--	115	81	113	81
Pasadena	85	62	--	91	64	88	65
Paso Robles	92	48	--	96	50	94	47
Redding	90	61	--	93	63	94	62
Riverside	92	57	--	100	60	98	59
Sacramento	86	52	--	89	53	87	53
San Bernardino	93	62	--	102	65	98	63

City	Sat.*		Today		Mon.		
	Hi	Lo	Prcp.	Hi	Lo	Hi	Lo
San Diego	71	61	--	74	60	74	63
San Francisco	67	52	--	65	52	66	53
San Gabriel	86	62	--	90	64	89	66
San Jose	74	52	--	76	52	75	55
San Luis Obispo	75	49	--	75	51	76	51
Santa Ana	77	63	--	80	63	80	63
Santa Barbara	67	54	--	73	56	76	59
Santa Clarita	90	61	--	99	65	96	65
Santa Monica Pier	73	60	--	76	62	76	60
Santa Paula	77	56	--	86	56	86	59
Santa Rosa	78	48	--	81	48	86	50
Simi Valley	82	58	--	90	61	89	61
Tahoe Valley	75	41	--	77	43	73	37
Thousand Oaks	79	56	--	84	57	85	58
Torrance	79	61	--	74	63	74	63
UCLA	74	59	--	81	61	79	61
Van Nuys	90	62	--	95	65	94	66

## SPORTS

SUNDAY, JUNE 15, 2025 :: LATIMES.COM/SPORTS

drawing  
losing  
and  
in battle  
of aces

Yamamoto struggles  
again while Webb  
cuts down Dodgers  
6-2 loss to Giants.

BY JACK HARRIS

The billing couldn't have been bigger. Dodgers vs. Giants. Yoshinobu Yamamoto vs. Logan Webb. One of the game's oldest rivalries, pitting what were supposed to be two of the game's top pitchers.

On Friday night at Dodger Stadium, however, only one right-handed ace showed up.

Webb did his thing, giving up two runs over seven spectacular innings.

Opposite him, Yamamoto was no match, floundering in a five-run, 4 1/3-inning start in the Dodgers' 6-2 defeat — one that left the rivals tied atop the National League West with identical 41-29 records after their first meeting of the season.

The evening was a study in pitching excellence (or, in Yamamoto's case, a lack thereof); serving as a reminder that, for as good as Yamamoto has become in his second major league season, there are tiers to his talent he has still yet to reach.

"There were absolutely no pitches with which I was satisfied," Yamamoto said in Japanese.

"I think the stuff is good," added manager Dave Roberts. "I think he was kind of just being too fine."

Indeed, where Webb got soft contact and quick outs, needing just 98 pitches to complete his seventh seven-inning outing of the season, Yamamoto labored through hitters' counts and long at-

[See Dodgers, D5]



GINA FERAZZI Los Angeles Times

A DEMONSTRATOR walks by California National Guard members during a rally to protest immigration raids last week in Los Angeles.

Voices DYLAN HERNÁNDEZ COLUMNIST

## Gutless Dodgers are silent as ICE raids terrorize fans

As part of their Pride Night celebration, a Dodgers official received a commemorative scroll from Los Angeles County Supervisor Linda Horvath before the team opened its three-game series against the San Francisco Giants.

"It is truly my pleasure to be celebrating Pride with the Dodgers," Horvath said. "Especially a time like this to have the Dodgers look at our community and see all of us, and celebrate everyone, especially our LGBTQ community, it is just so incredibly special."

In almost any other time, Horvath's presentation would have inspired, well, pride — specifically, pride in how the Dodgers started celebrating Pride Nights when they weren't

Team declines to release a statement of support or to protest sweeps that have ripped apart local families

commonplace in sports.

On Friday night, however, with many parts of Los Angeles terrorized by large-scale immigration sweeps, the county supervisor's words evoked an entirely different range of emotions.

Demonstrations against the federal raids have been staged in downtown for more than a week, but the Dodgers have remained silent. Angel City FC and LAFC released statements sympathizing with the residents experiencing "fear and uncertainty," but the Dodgers have remained silent.

If the Dodgers really see everyone, as Horvath suggested, they're ignoring what's happening right in front of them. Literally.

The Dodgers boast that more than 40% of their fan base is [See Hernández, D5]

COLLEGE WORLD SERIES  
UCLA 6, MURRAY STATE 4

## Hot-starting Bruins hold on in the heat of Omaha

BY BRADY OLMANS

OMAHA, Neb. — The warm wind was blowing into Charles Schwab Field and UCLA freshman Wylan Moss threw a changeup. Dean West knew he could make a play on that pitch.

At that point Murray State scored its first run of the game but still trailed UCLA by five runs. The Cinderella fourth seed kept scrapping runs together, forcing the Bruins to use six pitchers. Their lead narrowed until closer Easton Hawk

Bruins starter Michael Barnett threw 28 pitches in the first inning. Three of the first four batters he faced worked full counts. But he worked through 4 1/3 innings without yielding a run until Moss came on in relief. Barnett finished with three hits.



# Some neighborhoods go quiet amid ICE raids

**[Underground, from B1]** Immigration and Customs Enforcement arrests around Southern California, many parents in the working class neighborhood east of USC pulled their kids from classes last week.

Even more families, including those legally in the U.S., said they wouldn't attend Saturday's concert, which was subsequently canceled, out of an abundance of caution to avoid being arrested and having to spend weeks proving their legal status.

"One by one, they were calling this week, saying, 'It breaks our heart, but we are scared to death to come out,'" said Walter Zooi, executive director of the Young Musicians Foundation. "Folks are being disconnected from their families, from their communities, from these kinds of opportunities, which they love."

Instead of the traditional party — and an accompanying feast of pizza, pupusas and other Mexican and Central American foods — students handed in their borrowed instruments Friday and quietly said their farewells. One mother said she was saddened but felt she had no choice but to pull her 12-year-old daughter out of classes at YMF.

"She misses being with her friends and she is missing out on being inspired by the other students," said the woman, who gave only her middle name, Esther, because she said she was concerned about being targeted. "And as parents we are missing seeing that happiness when they are done performing and the satisfaction they get from the applause and encouragement."

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She said the people in the van didn't respond. Scared for her four children, Medina went inside the house and called her husband, Jorge Saldana, 30, who was at a nearby laundromat washing clothes. She told him what happened and that he needed to come home.

She and her husband got into an argument about his immigration status, she said. Medina worried immigration officials were now targeting him and their house. At one point, she told her husband she didn't want him attending his 10-year-old daughter's graduation.

She said the argument ended with her husband storming out of the house.

"He was upset," she said. "He wanted to go to the graduation."

Medina's husband, Saldana, was wanted for being in the country after his deportation. Eight years ago, Saldana was arrested on suspicion of a violent crime, but the criminal charges were dropped and he was subsequently deported, Medina said.

Early Thursday morning, Medina was rattled by several loud knocks on the front door. When she looked through the window she saw men in fatigues carrying assault rifles. One of them was pointing his weapon at her and ordered her to come out

of the house, she said.

She explained she had just finished showering and needed to get dressed, as well as wake up her kids. Medina asked the soldiers to put down their guns and they did, she said.

Eventually, the family walked out and stood in the driveway as the men in fatigues searched the house for her husband, Medina said. He was not home at the time.

As she, her brother-in-law and her kids waited in the driveway, Medina said, she spotted Noem watching the operation. She said she also spotted a video crew and someone she believed to be Dr. Phil McGraw — the TV personality — sitting in an SUV.

The sight of Noem in a baseball hat and ballistic vest was startling, and Medina said she began to record her with her phone.

"I got scared. I did recognize her. I was like, 'What is she doing in my house?' So I started recording her," Medina said.

The pregnant mother said Noem was laughing and appeared as if she was "waiting for something to happen."

Cameras inside and outside the home captured the men in fatigues walking around and searching the house. The men left shortly after, Medina said. There were at least a dozen men in fatigues, according to Medina and videos reviewed by The Times.

She hasn't spoken to her husband since the raid on their home and is now worried how she will be able to pay this month's \$3,000 rent. Her husband was the main breadwinner.

The incident has traumatized her four kids, whose ages range from 2 to 10, said Medina, who is four months pregnant with twin boys.

"This is no way of living," she said.

Behind a rumor of an ICE raid on a homeless shelter



CARLIN STIEHL Los Angeles Times

ANTI-ICE protesters demonstrate amid tear gas at a "No Kings Day" rally in downtown L.A. on Saturday.

## Raids put chill on daily life in bewildered Hawthorne

The immigration crackdown sparks fear, outrage and anxiety in the city, which is now half Latino.

By RUBEN VIVES

The truck carrying two men suspected of living in the country illegally was pinned between a white rusty fence and two Border Patrol vehicles near a busy intersection in Hawthorne.

Standing by the passenger door, two federal agents were handcuffing a pregnant



CARLIN STIEHL Los Angeles Times

THE SWEEPS have caused some to go into hiding, a Hawthorne man said. Above, ICE agents in L.A.

nant woman, a U.S. citizen, angering the crowd that had gathered there and prompting masked agents to stand guard with less-lethal weapons and batons.

"Let her go, she's pregnant," a woman screamed out. "That girl is pregnant, let her go!"

"Get back!" yelled an agent with a steel baton.

"We are back!" a man responded loudly.

The sweep near 120th Street and Hawthorne Boulevard this month was one of several that took place in this working-class city, all part of an immigration enforcement blitz in Southern

[See Hawthorne, A7]

United States, like having a throat that feels as if it's covered with shards of glass. But the increased attention to this symptom comes as the Nimbus subvariant has caused surges of COVID-19 in other countries.

Nicknamed 'Nimbus,' NB.1.8.1 has been described in Chinese media as producing 'razor blade throat.'

By RONG-GONG LIN II

COVID-19 appears to be on the rise in some parts of California as a new, highly contagious subvariant — featuring "razor blade throat" symptoms overseas — is becoming increasingly dominant.

Nicknamed "Nimbus," the new subvariant NB.1.8.1 has been described in news reports in China as having more obvious signs of "razor blade throat" — what patients describe as feeling as if their throats are studded with razor blades.

"Before Omicron, I think most people presented with the usual loss of taste and smell as the predominant symptom and shortness of breath," said Dr. Peter Chin-Hong, a UC San Francisco infectious-disease expert. But as COVID has become less likely to require hospitalization, "people are focusing on these other aspects of symptoms," such as an extraordinarily painful sore throat.

Part of the Omicron family, Nimbus is now one of the most dominant coronavirus subvariants nationally. For the two-week period that ended June 7, Nimbus ac-



DANIA MAXWELL Los Angeles Times

## Doctor who supplied ketamine to actor Perry will plead guilty

Salvador Plasencia faces up to 40 years in prison

By BRITTNY MEJIA

star, according to a plea agreement filed Mon-

day, faces up to 40 years in prison for the four

## Trump aims to intensify L.A. sweeps even as ICE vows shift

Agents were told to back off in some labor sectors, but raids continue in cities, sowing confusion.

By HANNAH FRY,  
GRACE TOOHEY  
AND RICHARD WINTON

Confusion reigned Monday over the federal immigration crackdown after President Trump vowed to ramp up deportations in Los Angeles and other Democratic cities just days after officials signaled they would stop arresting workers in some economic sectors.

In a Truth Social post, Trump said that officials "must expand efforts to detain and deport Illegal Aliens in America's largest Cities, such as Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York, where Millions upon Millions of Illegal Aliens reside." He then cited without proof the claim that those here illegally boost Democratic voter turnout.

It was unclear how the threat squares with a directive last week for immigration officers to pause arrests at farms, restaurants and hotels.

Multiple news organizations said senior Immigration and Customs Enforcement official Tatum King sent an email Thursday saying, "Please hold on all work site enforcement investigations/operations on agriculture (including aquaculture and meat packing plants), restaurants and

operating hotels."

He added that investigations probing "human trafficking, money laundering, drug smuggling into these industries are OK."

The Trump administration has not clarified the changes, and immigration actions continued through the weekend.

Since June 6, when immigration agents launched a campaign in Los Angeles to find and capture unauthorized workers at job sites, churches, schools and wherever else they could find them, tension across the city has been palpable.

Stephen Miller, White House deputy chief of staff and the main architect of Trump's immigration policies, said ICE officers would target at least 3,000 arrests a day, up from about 650 a day during the first five months of Trump's second term.

But Democratic lawmakers like California Sen. Adam Schiff warn that the plan would "inflame tensions, divide families and stir up more chaos" while placating Trump's base at the economy's expense.

"Trump's extreme policies are tearing the country apart and bad for America," Schiff wrote in a statement on X.

Sen. Alex Padilla (D-Calif.), who was briefly handcuffed when he attempted to ask a question during a Homeland Security news conference last week, echoed that Trump's actions have gone too far. "He's still failing to put forth meaningful solutions for the millions of law-abiding longterm

[See Raids, A7]

## Fate of homeless programs weighed

L.A. fights proposed receivership for its billion-dollar efforts. Judge could rule soon.

By DOUG SMITH

The question seemed simple enough: Was the witness' use of the word "make-shift" merely shorthand for "makeshift shelter"?

But for the defendant's counsel, it was a miscarriage of law: "Objection. Calls for legal conclusion. Calls for expert opinion. Relevance. Lacks foundation," she interjected, prompting a weary "Overruled" from the judge.

Over two weeks ending earlier this month, more than 2,000 objections punctuated a high-stakes hearing

# ICE signs deals for more detention beds

Private prison firms are landing no-bid contracts. One city in Kansas is pushing back.

BY HEATHER HOLLINGSWORTH AND JOHN HANNA

LEAVENWORTH, Kan. — The city of Leavenworth, Kan., occupies a mythic space in American crime, its name alone evoking a shorthand for serving hard time.

The federal penitentiary housed gangsters Al Capone and Machine Gun Kelly — in a building so storied that it inspired the term “the big house.”

Now Kansas’ oldest city could soon be detaining far less famous people, migrants swept up in President Trump’s promise of mass deportations of those living in the U.S. illegally.

The federal government has signed a deal with the private prison firm CoreCivic Corp. to reopen a 1,033-bed prison in Leavenworth as part of a surge of contracts that U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement has issued without seeking competitive bids.

ICE has cited a “compelling urgency” for thousands more detention beds, and its efforts have sent profit estimates soaring for politically connected private companies, including CoreCivic, based in the Nashville area and another giant firm, the Geo Group Inc., headquartered in southern Florida.

That push faces resistance. Leavenworth filed a lawsuit against CoreCivic after it tried to reopen without city officials signing off on the deal, quoting a federal judge’s past description of the now-shuttered prison as a “hell hole.”

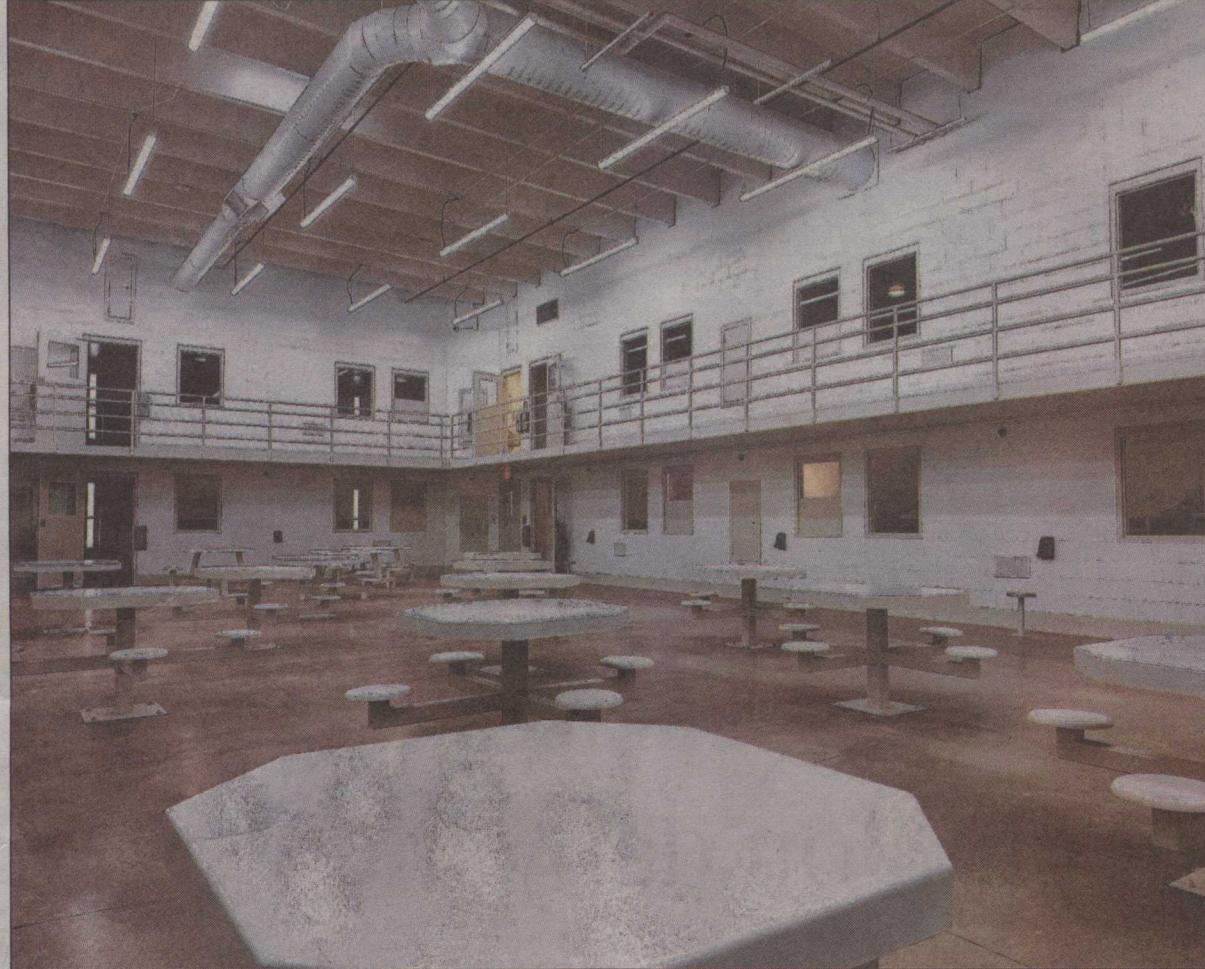
The case in Leavenworth serves as another test of the limits of the Republican president’s unusually aggressive tactics to force migrant removals.

To get more detention beds, the Trump administration has modified dozens of existing agreements with contractors and used no-bid contracts. One pays \$73 million to a company led by former federal immigration officials for “immigration enforcement support teams” to handle administrative tasks, such as helping coordinate removals, triaging complaints or telling ICE if someone is a risk to community safety.

Just last week, Geo Group announced that ICE modified a contract for an existing detention center in southeastern Georgia so that the company could reopen an idle prison on adjacent land to hold 1,868 migrants — and earn \$66 million in annual revenue.

“Never in our 42-year company history have we had so much activity and demand for our services as we are seeing right now,” CoreCivic Chief Executive Damon Hininger said during an earnings call last month with shareholders.

A tax-cutting and budget reconciliation measure approved last month by the House includes \$45 billion over four years for immigrant detention, a threefold



NICK INGRAM Associated Press

THE federal government has signed a deal with CoreCivic Corp. to reopen a prison in Leavenworth, Kan.

spending increase.

The Senate is now considering that legislation.

## Emergency declared to speed contracts

When Trump started his second term in January, CoreCivic and Geo had around 20 idle facilities, partly because of sentencing reforms that reduced prison populations. But the Trump administration wants to more than double the existing 41,000 beds for detaining migrants to at least 100,000 beds and — if private prison executives’ predictions are accurate — possibly to more than 150,000.

ICE declared a national emergency on the U.S. border with Mexico as part of its justification for authorizing nine five-year contracts for a combined 10,312 beds without “Full and Open Competition.”

Only three of the nine potential facilities were listed in ICE’s document: Leavenworth, a 2,560-bed CoreCivic-owned facility in California City and an 1,800-bed Geo-owned prison in Baldwin, Mich.

The agreement for the Leavenworth facility hasn’t been released, nor have documents for the other two sites. CoreCivic and Geo Group officials said recently on earnings calls that ICE used so-called letter contracts, meant to speed things when time is key.

Charles Tiefer, a contract expert and professor emeritus of law at the University of Baltimore Law School, said letter contracts are ordinarily reserved for minor matters, not the big changes he sees ICE making to previous agreements.

“I think that a letter contract is a pathetic way to make big important contracts,” he said.

An attorney for the city, Joe Hatley, said the legal fight indicates how much ill

will CoreCivic generated when it held criminal suspects there for trials in federal court for the U.S. Marshals Service.

In late 2021, CoreCivic stopped housing pretrial detainees in its Leavenworth facility after then-President Biden, a Democrat, called on the U.S. Department of Justice to curb the use of private prisons. In the months before the closure, the American Civil Liberties Union and federal public defenders detailed stabbings, suicides, a homicide and inmate rights violations in a letter to the White House. CoreCivic responded at the time that the claims were “false and defamatory.”

Vacancies among correctional officers were as high as 23%, according to a Department of Justice report from 2017.

“It was just mayhem,” recalled William Rogers, who worked as a guard at the CoreCivic facility in Leavenworth from 2016-20. He said repeated assaults sent him to the emergency room three times, including once after a blow to the head that required 14 staples.

## Critics include a federal judge

When Leavenworth sued CoreCivic, it opened its lawsuit with a quote from U.S. District Judge Julie Robinson — an appointee of President George W. Bush, a Republican — who said of the prison: “The only way I could describe it frankly, what’s going on at CoreCivic right now is it’s an absolute hell hole.”

The city’s lawsuit described detainees locked in showers as punishment. It said that sheets and towels from the facility clogged up the wastewater system and that CoreCivic impeded the

city police force’s ability to investigate sexual assaults and other violent crimes.

The facility had no inmates when CoreCivic gave reporters a tour this year, and it looked scrubbed top to bottom and the smell of disinfectant hung in the air.

During the tour, when asked about the allegations of past problems, Misty Mackey, a longtime CoreCivic employee who was tapped to serve as warden there, apologized for past employees’ experiences and said the company officials “do our best to make sure that we learn from different situations.”

## ICE moves quickly across the U.S.

Besides CoreCivic’s Leavenworth prison, other once-shuttered facilities could come online near major immigrant population centers, from New York to Los Angeles, to help Trump fulfill his deportation plans.

ICE wants to reopen existing facilities because it’s faster than building new ones, said Marcela Hernandez, the organizing director for the Detention Watch Network, which has organized nationwide protests against ICE detention.

Counties often lease out jail space for immigrant detention, but ICE said some jurisdictions have passed ordinances barring that.

ICE has used contract modifications to reopen shuttered lockups such as the 1,000-bed Delaney Hall Facility in Newark, N.J., and a 2,500-bed facility in Dilley, Texas, offering no explanations why new, competitively bid contracts weren’t sought.

The Newark facility, with its own history of problems, resumed intakes May 1, and disorder broke out at the fa-

cility Thursday night. Newark Mayor Ras Baraka, a Democrat who previously was arrested there and accused of trespassing, cited reports of a possible uprising, and the Department of Homeland Security confirmed four escapes.

The contract modification for Dilley, which was built to hold families and resumed operations in March, calls its units “neighborhoods.”

The financial details for the Newark and Dilley contract modifications are blacked out in online copies, as they are for more than 50 other agreements ICE has signed since Trump took office. ICE didn’t respond to a request for comment.

## From idle prisons to a ‘gold rush’

Private prison executives are forecasting hundreds of millions of dollars in new ICE profits. Since Trump’s reelection in November, CoreCivic’s stock has risen in price by 56% and Geo’s by 73%.

“It’s the gold rush,” Michael A. Hallett, a professor of criminal justice at the University of North Florida who studies private prisons. “All of a sudden, demand is spiraling. And when you’re the only provider that can meet demand, you can pretty much set your terms.”

Geo’s former lobbyist Pam Bondi is now the U.S. attorney general. It anticipates that all of its idle prisons will be activated this year, its executive chairman, George Zoley, told shareholders.

CoreCivic, which along with Geo donated millions of dollars to largely GOP candidates at all levels of government and national political groups, is equally optimistic. It began daily talks with the Trump administration immediately after the election in November, Hinenger said.

CoreCivic officials said ICE’s letter contracts provide initial funding to begin reopening facilities while the company negotiates a longer-term deal. The Leavenworth deal is worth \$4.2 million a month to the company, it said in a court filing.

Tiefer, who served on an independent commission established to study government contracting for the Iraq and Afghanistan wars, said that ICE is “placing a very dicey long-term” because of its past problems and that the agency is giving CoreCivic “the keys to the Treasury” without competition.

But financial analysts on company earnings calls have been delighted. When CoreCivic announced its letter contracts, Joe Gomes, of the financial services firm Noble Capital Markets, responded with, “Great news.”

Hollingsworth and Hanna write for the Associated Press and reported from Leavenworth and Topeka, Kan., respectively. AP writers Joshua Goodman in Miami and Morgan Lee, in Santa Fe, N.M., contributed to this report.

PALESTINIANS carry 34 kil Gaza

BY WAFAA SHURAFA AND SAMY MAGDY

DEIR AL BALAH, Strip — Israeli t opened fire Monday crowds tried to reach I and U.S.-supported distribution center Gaza, witnesses said. people killed, accord health officials, made deadliest day of such ings since the new a tem launched last mo

The Israeli r didn’t comment on day’s shootings. Bu some previous epis said its troops ha warning shots at called suspects app their positions, th didn’t say whetho shots struck anyone

Palestinians sa face the choice of st risking immediate they make their wa raeli forces to rea tribution points, run by a private co the Gaza Hum Foundation. The run Health Minist says several hundred have been killed dreds more wound shootings since t opened.

Israel

BY AMI BENT

TEL AVI struck Iran’s vision station a live broad reporter to following an c Iran fired a n siles at Isra least eight p

In other Prime Min Netanyahu strikes have ar program very long t that Israel to topple th ment, but be surprised opened as strikes. “The weak,” Ne

Doctors offer aid after Air India crash on their campus

# Spaniards target travelers with water guns

Marchers decry mass tourism's effect on housing. Portugal and Italy also hold rallies.

BY JOSEPH WILSON

BARCELONA, Spain — Protesters used water pistols against unsuspecting tourists in Barcelona and on the Spanish island of Mallorca as demonstrators marched to demand a rethink of an economic model they believe is fueling a housing crunch and erasing the character of their hometowns.

The marches were part of the first coordinated effort by activists concerned with the ills of overtourism across southern Europe's top destinations. While several thousand rallied on Mallorca in the biggest gathering of the day, hundreds more gathered in other Spanish cities, as well as in Venice and Portugal's capital, Lisbon.

"The squirt guns are to bother the tourists a bit," Andreu Martínez said in Barcelona with a chuckle after spraying a couple seated at an outdoor cafe. "Barcelona has been handed to the tourists. This is a fight to give Barcelona back to its residents."

Martínez, a 42-year-old administrative assistant, is one of a growing number of residents who are convinced that tourism has gone too far in the city of 1.7 million people. Barcelona hosted 15.5 million visitors last year with such attractions as Antoni Gaudí's La Sagrada Família basilica and the Las Ramblas promenade.

Martínez says his rent has risen more than 30% as more apartments in his neighborhood are rented to tourists for short-term stays. He said there is a related effect of traditional



A WOMAN uses a water gun during a demonstration against overtourism in Barcelona, Spain, on Sunday.

PAU VENTO Associated Press

stores being replaced by businesses catering to tourists, such as souvenir shops, burger joints and bubble tea spots.

"Our lives, as lifelong residents of Barcelona, are coming to an end," he said. "We are being pushed out systematically."

Around 5,000 people gathered Sunday in Palma, the capital of Mallorca, with some toting water guns as well and chanting, "Everywhere you look, all you see are tourists." The tourists who were targeted by water blasts laughed it off. The Balearic island is a favorite for British and German sun seekers. It has seen housing costs skyrocket as homes are diverted to the short-term rental market.

Hundreds more marched in Granada, in southern Spain, and in the northern city of San Sebastián, as well as the island of Ibiza.

In Venice, a couple of dozen protesters unfurled a banner calling for a halt to new hotel beds in the lagoon city in front of two recently completed structures, one in the popular tourist destination's historic center where activists say the last resident, an elderly woman, was kicked out last year.

## That's lovely'

Protesters in Barcelona blew whistles and held up homemade signs saying, "One more tourist, one less resident." They stuck stickers with a drawing of water pistols on the doors of hotels

and hostels that said "Citizen Self-Defense," in Catalan, and "Tourist Go Home," in English.

There was tension when the march stopped in front of a large hostel, where a group emptied their water guns at two workers positioned in the entrance. They also set off firecrackers next to the hostel and opened a can of pink smoke. One worker spat at the protesters as he slammed the hostel's doors.

American tourists Wanda and Bill Dorozenski were walking along Barcelona's main luxury shopping boulevard where the protest started.

They received a squirt or two, but she said it was actually refreshing given the 83-degree weather.

"That's lovely, thank you, sweetheart," Wanda said to

the squirter. "I am not going to complain. These people are feeling something to them that is very personal, and is perhaps destroying some areas" of the city, she said.

There were also many marchers with water pistols who didn't fire at bystanders, using them instead to cool themselves.

## Airbnb crackdown

Cities across the world are struggling with how to cope with mass tourism and a boom in short-term rental platforms, such as Airbnb, but perhaps nowhere has surging discontent been so evident as in Spain, where protesters in Barcelona first took to firing squirt guns at tourists during a protest in the summer last year.

There has also been a confluence of the pro-hous-

ing and anti-tourism struggles in Spain, whose 48 million residents welcomed a record 94 million international visitors last year. When thousands marched through the streets of the capital city, Madrid, in April, some held homemade signs saying "Get Airbnb out of our neighborhoods."

Spanish authorities are striving to show they hear the public outcry while not hurting an industry that contributes 12% of the gross domestic product.

Last month, Spain's government ordered Airbnb to remove almost 66,000 holiday rentals from the platform that it said had violated local rules.

Spain's Consumer Rights Minister Pablo Bustinduy told the Associated Press shortly after the crackdown on Airbnb that the tourism

sector "cannot jeopardize the constitutional rights of the Spanish people," which enshrines their right to housing and well-being. Carlos Cuerpo, the economy minister, said in a separate interview that the government is aware it must tackle the unwanted side effects of mass tourism.

The boldest move was made by Barcelona's town hall, which stunned Airbnb and other services that rent properties to tourists by announcing last year the elimination of all 10,000 short-term rental licenses in the city by 2028.

That sentiment was back in force on Sunday, as people held up signs saying "You Airbnb was my home."

## Easy scapegoat'

The short-term rental industry contends that it is being treated unfairly.

"I think a lot of our politicians have found an easy scapegoat to blame for the inefficiencies of their policies in terms of housing and tourism over the last 10, 15, 20 years," Airbnb's general director for Spain and Portugal, Jaime Rodríguez de Santiago, recently told the AP.

That argument either hasn't trickled down to the residents of Barcelona or isn't resonating.

Txema Escorsa, a teacher in Barcelona, doesn't just oppose Airbnb in his home city; he has ceased to use it when traveling, out of principle.

"In the end, you realize that this is taking away housing from people," he said.

Wilson writes for the Associated Press. AP videojournalist Hernán Muñoz in Barcelona and AP writer Colleen Barry in Venice contributed to this report.

# Congolese customs worker who refused bribe beatified by Vatican

Official would not allow spoiled rice from Rwanda to be given to poor people.

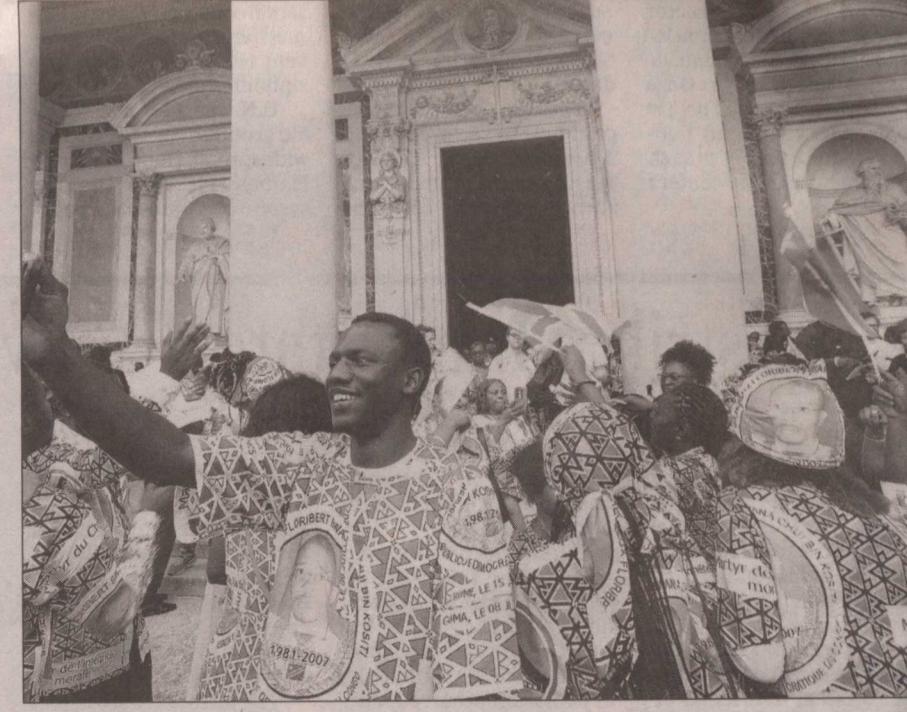
By NICOLE WINFIELD,  
JUSTIN KAMBUMBA  
AND CHINEDU ASADU

ROME — The Vatican has beatified a Congolese customs worker who was killed for resisting a bribe, giving young people in a place with endemic corruption a new model of holiness: someone who refused to allow spoiled rice to be distributed to poor people.

The head of the Vatican's saint-making office, Cardinal Marcello Semeraro, presided over Sunday's beatification ceremony of Floribert Bwana Chui Bin Kositi at one of the pontifical basilicas in Rome, St. Paul Outside the Walls.

The event attracted a cheering crowd of Congolese pilgrims and much of Rome's Congolese Catholic community, who were to be treated to a special audience Monday with Pope Leo XIV.

The faithful wore T-shirts and vests with Kositi's portrait and erupted in chants and applause and waved Congolese flags as soon as the beatification cer-



PILGRIMS attend the beatification of Floribert Bwana Chui Bin Kositi in Rome.

first saint. The move fit into the pope's broader understanding of martyr as a social justice concept, allowing those deemed to have been killed for doing God's work to be considered for sainthood.

The faithful wore T-shirts and vests with Kositi's portrait and erupted in chants and applause and waved Congolese flags as soon as the beatification cer-

more than 100 million whose development has been stifled by chronic corruption, which Francis railed against during his 2023 visit to Congo.

Speaking at the Kinshasa stadium then, Francis said Kositi "could easily have turned a blind eye; nobody would have found out, and he might even have gotten

"It's a lesson for every generation, for the next generation, for the present generation and for all people. Floribert's life is a positive point that must be presented to the Congolese nation. We are in a country where corruption is almost allowed, and this is a challenge that must be taken up," Kalimba said.

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# Confusion reigns over ICE arrest changes

[Raids, from A1] residents who have been here contributing to our economy and our communities. They deserve better," he wrote in a statement.

Los Angeles Mayor Karen Bass on Monday said Trump's plan to expand deportation efforts is "illegal, divisive and flies in the face of everything we stand for in Los Angeles."

Protests in the city's Civic Center have led to sometimes violent clashes between residents, immigration advocates and local and federal law enforcement, while buildings and businesses in the area have been damaged and vandalized. A curfew downtown has mitigated the destruction but brought economic activity in the area — still ailing from the pandemic — to a crawl.

On Monday, Bass announced the curfew would remain in effect for another night but it would begin later, at 10 p.m., versus the 8 p.m. start time for the last week.

In pockets across the city, rumors swirl about ICE checkpoints, ICE raids and warnings for immigrants (unauthorized and otherwise) to stay home lest they be stopped by an agent, who may or may not believe the person they're speaking with is a citizen or legally permitted to be here.

The continued immigration sweeps come as military forces deployed by the president remain present in L.A., continuing a series of critical showdowns between federal and state officials.

On Tuesday, the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals is expected to rule on California's bid to stop the Trump deployment of National Guard



CARLIN STIEHL Los Angeles Times

**MARINES** guard a federal building during "No Kings Day" protests in downtown Los Angeles on Saturday.

troops in Los Angeles. Experts say the legal battle could amount to a test case for powers the White House has long hoped to wield.

U.S. District Court Judge Charles Breyer of San Francisco wrote Thursday that Trump had steamrolled state leaders when he federalized California's troops and deployed them against protesters.

"His actions were illegal — both exceeding the scope of his statutory authority and violating the Tenth

Amendment to the United States Constitution," Breyer wrote.

During Saturday's protests organized under the theme of "No Kings" — meant to express opposition to the Trump administration — tens of thousands of participants took to the streets of L.A. and other major cities in California and other parts of the country.

By the end of the night, officers had arrested 35 people on suspicion of curfew violations, one on suspicion

of failure to disperse, one on suspicion of resisting, obstructing or delaying an officer and one on suspicion of resisting arrest, officials said. Since immigration protests began June 6, Los Angeles police have made 575 arrests.

There were no arrests Sunday, when it was quiet downtown in the afternoon compared with the previous week. Still, around 200 activists were there, determined to keep the anti-ICE and anti-Trump protests going.

"ICE out of LA! Whose streets? Our streets!" a group chanted as it marched between City Hall and the Metropolitan Detention Center to a chorus of supportive honks from drivers.

"Today's been modest but it's good to see so many people willing to keep up the momentum," said Christopher Lee, 39, of Venice, who carried a sign that said, "LA's too hot for ICE."

Sunday was Lee's first day out protesting since the surge in immigration raids

that have roiled the region and sparked more than a week of protests. He said he could have come out Saturday for the massive "No Kings," but he knew fewer people would come Sunday so he chose to wait.

Sean Patterson similarly didn't come out Saturday, so he and a friend decided to camp out in front of City Hall on Sunday.

"I can't sit by and live out in L.A. when this is all going on," Patterson, 23, of Hollywood, said. "It just feels like we're slowly inching closer and closer to ... anything people in power want to happen can happen."

Just before 8 p.m., there were only three people left on the City Hall steps.

Bryan Sagastume was glad to be going home without the sting of tear gas Sunday after being gassed several times at Saturday night's action. He stood calmly in front of City Hall, holding up a Mexican flag representing his mom's birthplace.

"Both my parents are immigrants," the 25-year-old said. "They grew up here, working hard ... no criminals, nothing like that. And I just feel like what Trump is doing is wrong."

Sagastume was born in the U.S. so he feels safe to come out and protest, and wants to do so for those who can't. Still, the sweeps have weighed heavily on his family. "My mom's been, like, not going outside the house, staying home," he said. "She's scared right now to go outside."

Times staff writers Sonja Sharp, Andrea Castillo and Howard Blume contributed to this report.

## Hawthorne hurting as raids affect businesses, keep people in

**Hawthorne**, from A1] California that has mostly affected workers living in the country illegally — similar to those that President Trump has employed in the past.

The incident, which was captured on video and shared on social media along with subsequent raids in the city, has sparked outrage, fear and anxiety in a town where half the population is Latino. At least 30% of the total population is also foreign born, according to the U.S. Census Bureau.

were on private property. She said the agents then took her into custody for obstruction but later released her. Soon after that, she began experiencing pain in her belly and went to a hospital.

Alvarado could not be reached for comment. The Department of Homeland Security did not respond to questions about the operation.

The white Toyota Tundra that had been stopped that day remains in the home.

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Her neighbor Ruben Esquivel, 43, said the raids have caused some people to go into hiding.

"I don't see anyone," he said. "People who are trying to make a living are scared to leave the house. It's horrible."

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Street and Acacia Avenue, where Spanish Mass at St. Joseph Catholic Church can pull in about 1,000 parishioners. Father Arturo Velascos said it was unclear what effect the June 1 incident, and other immigration raids, will have on attendance.

"The fact that they were here has us asking ourselves: How is this Sunday going to be?" he said. "I know people are scared. Anyone who is undocumented has that ba-

Bureau, the

Boulevard, some businesses said there are fewer shoppers.

At 132nd Street, Gilberto Alvarez, 32, general manager at Denny's, said he was expecting a boost in sales recently after another diner in the area burned down.

"Right away we saw a bump in sales," he said.

But after Sunday's incident, he saw the number dip again.

"I was expecting to have \$13,000 in sales; instead, I got

meet.

But the presence of Border Patrol vehicles has forced him to stay home. They've scared customers away as well, and the few times he's taken the risk to sell items at the swap meet, he's noticed half the stalls are empty.

Unable to work, he's had to dip into his savings and is afraid he'll run out of money soon. He said that if he's unable to pay the \$1,300 in rent and bills, he'll return

# Confusion reigns over ICE arrest changes

**Raids, from A1**  
residents who have been here contributing to our economy and our communities. They deserve better," he wrote in a statement.

Los Angeles Mayor Karen Bass on Monday said Trump's plan to expand deportation efforts is "illegal, divisive and flies in the face of everything we stand for in Los Angeles."

Protests in the city's Civic Center have led to sometimes violent clashes between residents, immigration advocates and local and federal law enforcement, while buildings and businesses in the area have been damaged and vandalized. A curfew downtown has mitigated the destruction but brought economic activity in the area — still ailing from the pandemic — to a crawl.

On Monday, Bass announced the curfew would remain in effect for another night but it would begin later, at 10 p.m., versus the 8 p.m. start time for the last week.

In pockets across the city, rumors swirl about ICE checkpoints, ICE raids and warnings for immigrants (unauthorized and otherwise) to stay home lest they be stopped by an agent, who may or may not believe the person they're speaking with is a citizen or legally permitted to be here.

The continued immigration sweeps come as military forces deployed by the president remain present in L.A., continuing a series of critical showdowns between federal and state officials.

On Tuesday, the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals is expected to rule on California's bid to stop the Trump deployment of National Guard



CARLIN STIEHL Los Angeles Times

**MARINES** guard a federal building during "No Kings Day" protests in downtown Los Angeles on Saturday.

troops in Los Angeles. Experts say the legal battle could amount to a test case for powers the White House has long hoped to wield.

U.S. District Court Judge Charles Breyer of San Francisco wrote Thursday that Trump had steamrolled state leaders when he federalized California's troops and deployed them against protesters.

"His actions were illegal — both exceeding the scope of his statutory authority and violating the Tenth

Amendment to the United States Constitution," Breyer wrote.

During Saturday's protests organized under the theme of "No Kings" — meant to express opposition to the Trump administration — tens of thousands of participants took to the streets of L.A. and other major cities in California and other parts of the country.

By the end of the night, officers had arrested 35 people on suspicion of curfew violations, one on suspicion

of failure to disperse, one on suspicion of resisting, obstructing or delaying an officer and one on suspicion of resisting arrest, officials said. Since immigration protests began June 6, Los Angeles police have made 575 arrests.

There were no arrests Sunday, when it was quiet downtown in the afternoon compared with the previous week. Still, around 200 activists were there, determined to keep the anti-ICE and anti-Trump protests going.

"ICE out of LA! Whose streets? Our streets!" a group chanted as it marched between City Hall and the Metropolitan Detention Center to a chorus of supportive honks from drivers.

"Today's been modest but it's good to see so many people willing to keep up the momentum," said Christopher Lee, 39, of Venice, who carried a sign that said, "LA's too hot for ICE."

Sunday was Lee's first day out protesting since the surge in immigration raids

that have roiled the region and sparked more than a week of protests. He said he could have come out Saturday for the massive "No Kings," but he knew fewer people would come Sunday so he chose to wait.

Sean Patterson similarly didn't come out Saturday, so he and a friend decided to camp out in front of City Hall on Sunday.

"I can't sit by and live out in L.A. when this is all going on," Patterson, 23, of Hollywood, said. "It just feels like we're slowly inching closer and closer to ... anything people in power want to happen can happen."

Just before 8 p.m., there were only three people left on the City Hall steps.

Bryan Sagastume was glad to be going home without the sting of tear gas Sunday after being gassed several times at Saturday night's action. He stood calmly in front of City Hall, holding up a Mexican flag representing his mom's birthplace.

"Both my parents are immigrants," the 25-year-old said. "They grew up here, working hard ... no criminals, nothing like that. And I just feel like what Trump is doing is wrong."

Sagastume was born in the U.S. so he feels safe to come out and protest, and wants to do so for those who can't. Still, the sweeps have weighed heavily on his family. "My mom's been, like, not going outside the house, staying home," he said. "She's scared right now to go outside."

Times staff writers Sonja Sharp, Andrea Castillo and Howard Blume contributed to this report.

## Hawthorne hurting as raids affect businesses, keep people in

**Hawthorne, from A1**  
California that has mostly affected workers living in the country illegally — similar to those that President Trump has employed in the past.

The incident, which was captured on video and shared on social media along with subsequent raids in the city, has sparked outrage, fear and anxiety in a town where half the population is Latino. At least 30% of the local population is also foreign, according to the U.S. Census Bureau.

Businesses said the raids have had an impact on them as well. Recently elected Mayor Alex Vargas has not spoken about the immigration issues his city is facing. He did not respond to requests for comment.

But two days after the incident at the intersection, a small group of young people gathered to protest the immigration raids. They waved American and Mexican flags as dozens of cars honked in support.

The pregnant woman, Cary López Alvarado, told NBC Los Angeles that the agents had been tailing her husband and co-worker when they pulled into the parking lot of a building where they were doing maintenance. She said she opened the gate for her husband to drive in when the agents pulled up. She said she refused to let the agents into the property.

In a video she recorded and shared with the news station, Alvarado tells the agents to leave and that they

were on private property. She said the agents then took her into custody for obstruction but later released her. Soon after that, she began experiencing pain in her belly and went to a hospital.

Alvarado could not be reached for comment. The Department of Homeland Security did not respond to questions about the operation.

The white Toyota Tundra that had been stopped that day remains in the small parking lot of the building that is home to a Live Scan business. The driver side window was broken and shattered glass lay nearby.

It's been a week of upheaval in Hawthorne, the South Bay suburb where the Beach Boys got their start in the 1960s and came to epitomize the postwar beach culture of Southern California.

Over the last 50 years, the city of nearly 90,000 has become much more diverse, with a sizable Latino immigrant community.

Standing outside her apartment complex at Acacia Avenue and 120th Street, just across from where the truck had been stopped, Maria Perez, 68, a Cuban and American citizen, smoked a cigarette with a neighbor. She expressed anger over the incident and the raids that have been taking place in the city and Greater Los Angeles.

"I cried when I saw what happened here," she said. "I was hurting like everybody else, and now there's fear not

just here but all over the city."

Her neighbor Ruben Esquivel, 43, said the raids have caused some people to go into hiding.

"I don't see anyone," he said. "People who are trying to make a living are scared to leave the house. It's horrible."

Jimmy Butler, 59, was home when he started to hear honking. By the time he traced the noise to the intersection, he saw Border Patrol agents taking the two

**I don't see anyone. People who are trying to make a living are scared to leave the house. It's horrible.**

— RUBEN ESQUIVEL, Hawthorne resident

men into custody as well as the pregnant woman.

"I was upset about what happened that day," he said. "How do you take someone who hasn't committed a crime?"

Since then, he said, he has been more alert in an effort to protect his neighborhood, a street lined with apartment buildings where Samoans, Africans, Latinos and Black Americans live.

When he heard honking again recently, he feared federal agents had returned, but he was relieved when he learned it was related to the group of young demonstrators.

"People are living in anxiety," he said.

At the corner of 119th

Street and Acacia Avenue, where Spanish Mass at St. Joseph Catholic Church can pull in about 1,000 parishioners, Father Arturo Velascos said it was unclear what effect the June 1 incident, and other immigration raids, will have on attendance.

"The fact that they were here has us asking ourselves: How is this Sunday going to be?" he said. "I know people are scared. Anyone who is undocumented has that basic fear that if they go to

church or leave their home they'll be captured by ICE and get deported."

Velascos said the church has told people to remain vigilant and has held know-your-rights workshops to inform parishioners and the community. He said some people have expressed to him that they're afraid that immigration agents will enter the church to grab people.

"If they ever tried to come into our church packed with parishioners, it will go bad for them because people will not tolerate that," he said. "You don't want 1,000 people angry at you."

Elsewhere in the city, the raids seem to be keeping people away. On Hawthorne

Boulevard, some businesses said there are fewer shoppers.

At 132nd Street, Gilberto Alvarez, 32, general manager at Denny's, said he was expecting a boost in sales recently after another diner in the area burned down.

"Right away we saw a bump in sales," he said.

But after Sunday's incident, he saw the number dip again.

"I was expecting to have \$13,000 in sales; instead, I got \$9,000," he said.

He said daily sales have also decreased from 500 to about 300.

Business owners in the area said they too have noticed a decline in sales. They said workers have called in sick, fearing they will be detained by federal agents. However, some smaller stores said they haven't noticed a difference yet.

On a recent Wednesday afternoon, Sergio Hernandez, 49, stood at the mouth of his driveway, contemplating life.

For more than 30 years, Hernandez has been living illegally in the country. But now, amid the immigration raids, he's considering self-deporting to Mexico.

He said the raids have left him in a constant state of fear and anxiety. They've also placed an economic burden on him.

Four years ago, he said, he suffered a stroke and lost the movement of his right arm and therefore his job as a polisher at a metal shop. Since then, he's been selling used items at a local swap

meet.

But the presence of Border Patrol vehicles has forced him to stay home. They've scared customers away as well, and the few times he's taken the risk to sell items at the swap meet, he's noticed half the stalls are empty.

Unable to work, he's had to dip into his savings and is afraid he'll run out of money soon. He said that if he's unable to pay the \$1,300 in rent and bills, he'll return home.

Hernandez paused for a moment, spotting a white Chevy Escalade with tinted windows at the intersection nearby.

"See, that's the second time that vehicle has passed by here. It's immigration, you can see the lights," he said.

He said it's moments like those that cause him to be on high alert whenever he has to go to the store.

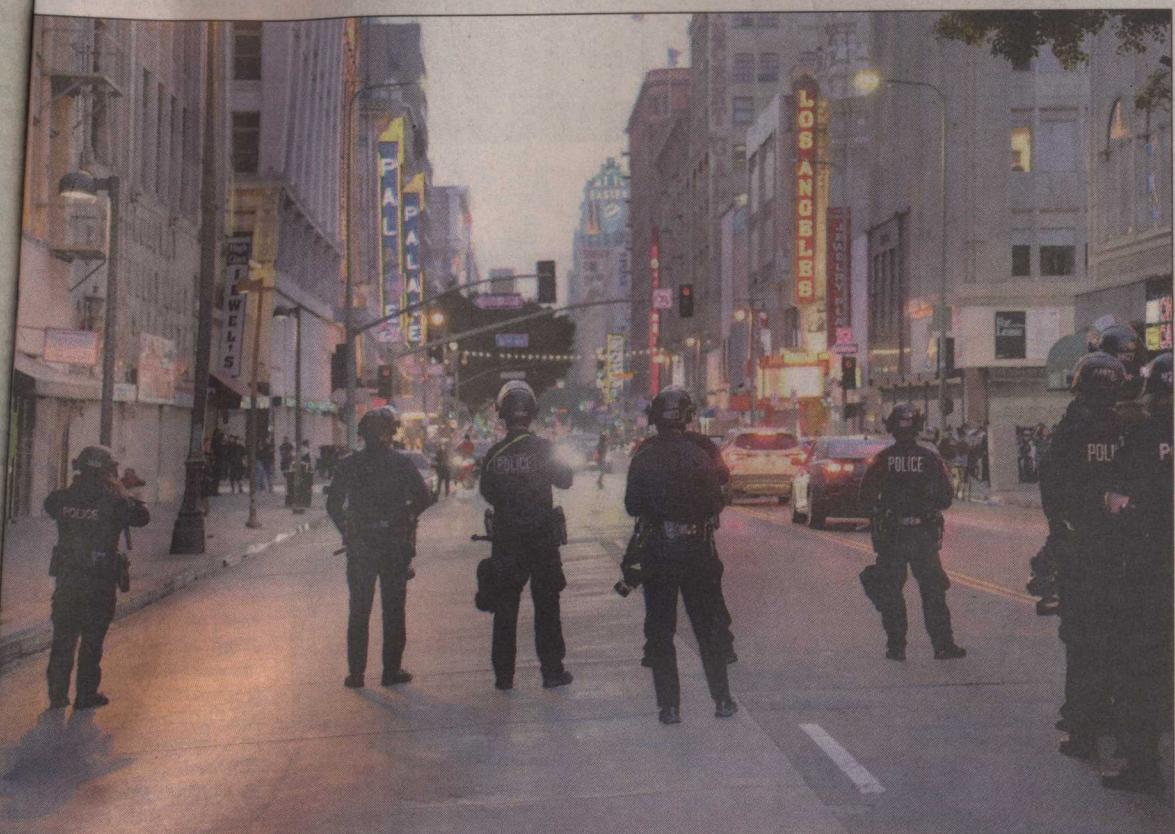
"Before you could go out and be out and about, you know — living life," he said. "But now people are always telling you when they spot immigration and whether it's true or not, you'd rather not find out."

Hernandez said he doesn't know when he'll return to Mexico. What's delaying his decision is the simple fact that he's become accustomed to living his life in the U.S.

"I don't understand," he said. "There are people living in the streets, getting drugged up and I'm here trying to work. Why are they coming after me?"

## CALIFORNIA

TUESDAY, JUNE 17, 2025 :: LATIMES.COM/CALIFORNIA



CURFEW was imposed in downtown L.A. amid anti-ICE protests. Above, LAPD officers secure a street.

## Bass decries the raids' economic toll on L.A.

Federal agents' operations have a chilling effect in parts of the city, with Angelenos staying home from work, school and other activities

By JULIA WICK

As a community and cultural center of Boyle Heights, Mariachi Plaza would be an obvious place for families to gather on Father's Day.

But the normally bustling plaza was all but deserted when Mayor Karen Bass visited Sunday morn-

ing.

More than a week after President Trump's immigration raids first instilled terror in Los Angeles communities, the federal sweeps have had a profound chilling effect in the overwhelmingly Latino, working-class neighborhood just east of downtown.

"Mariachi Plaza was completely empty. There

was not a soul there," Bass recalled a few hours later. "One restaurant, there were a handful of people. The other restaurant, there was literally nobody there."

Bass visited a number of small businesses in Boyle Heights with Assemblymember Mark Gonzalez (D-Los Angeles), including Casa Fina, Distrito Catorce, Yeya's and Birrieria De Don

Boni, as well as the Estrada Courts public housing project, where Bass and Gonzalez both said residents were reluctant to come outside their homes for a Father's Day celebration.

"It's the uncertainty that continues that has an absolute economic impact. But it is pretty profound to walk up and down the streets and to

[See Economy, B4]

## Military style vehicle seen in Compton

Neighbors say a family was taken away in an immigration raid captured on video.

By CONNOR SHEETS

A typical Monday afternoon in Compton was shattered for several neighbors who saw, to their surprise, a drab green military style vehicle roll up. A person stood in the open hatch wearing fatigues, a helmet and what they said appeared to be body armor.



MARINES push back anti-ICE protesters in downtown Los Angeles on Saturday.

ESSENTIAL CALIFORNIA

## 'This is not the end of the story,' historian says

## Ready for summer? High temps are expected

Hot and dry weather raises fire concerns. Some areas could see repeat triple digits.

By GRACE TOOHEY

It's going to be a warm week in Southern California.

A system that started to heat up the region on Sunday is expected to stick around through the weekend and send temperatures soaring into the triple digits in many areas, according to the National Weather Service.

On Sunday, many valley communities across the Southland clocked in at 100-degree-plus temperatures, including Ontario in San Bernardino County and Woodland Hills in Los Angeles County, where it hit 103.

In Palm Springs, temperatures peaked at 117 degrees.

"That was the hottest

temperature of the year by a good margin" for Palm Springs, said Sebastian Westerink, a weather service meteorologist in San Diego.

Forecasters say thermometers could climb to similar highs again in the coming days.

"It's going to be pretty warm all week," said Mike Wofford, a weather service meteorologist in Oxnard. "It's well above normal."

The weather service warned that the temperatures could cause health issues such as heat exhaustion and heat stroke, especially for at-risk populations, and urged people to stay hydrated and avoid strenuous activity during the hottest part of the day.

Monday was forecast to again hit 117 degrees in Palm Springs, while the Inland Empire and some L.A. County valleys were expected to see highs in the 90s or near 100 degrees, forecast-

[See Heat, B5]

Voices GUSTAVO ARELLANO COLUMNIST

## Mass deportations don't work. Just look at the history

The policy doesn't help the labor force. But Trump's real goal is creating terror.

Donald Trump campaigned on a promise to wage war on illegal immigration the likes of which the United States has never seen. His first big campaign — launched against Los Angeles and its surrounding communities, of course — has proceeded with predictably disastrous results.

Parts of Southern California are under occupation by the National Guard and Marines, as Trump and his allies try to paint the protests against deportations as an insurrection fueled by Mexican "invaders". The 9th Circuit Court of Appeals will listen today to administration lawyers argue that deploying the National Guard over the objections of a sitting governor is unconstitutional.

On social media Sunday,

country to supposedly "reverse the tide of Mass Destruction Migration that has turned once Idyllic Towns into scenes of Third World Dystopia." (His Restoration-era capitalization, not mine).

Yet in the president's social media blathering last week came something shocking: an admission that deportations don't really work.

On June 12, Trump wrote that farmers, hoteliers and people in the leisure industry "have been stating that our very aggressive policy on immigration is taking very good, long time workers away from them, with those jobs being almost impossible to replace."

Ya think?

For decades, study after study across the political spectrum has shown not only that immigrants don't take jobs away from native-born U.S. citizens or depress their wages, but that removing them usually makes the economy worse.

There's the liberal-leaning American Immigration Council, which predicted last year that a decade-long

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Yesterday's Jumbles: FLUFF LOBBY BATTER SPOKEN  
Answer: They were having a garage sale and hoped their neighbors would — STOP "BUY".

SUMMONS  
(CITACION JUDICIAL)  
Case Number (Número del Caso):  
24SMCV05525

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(AVISO AL DEMANDADO):  
Michael Egiazarian, Oxana Penkovskaya, Suren Egiazaryan, Sur Investments, and Does 1 to 40

YOU ARE BEING SUED BY PLAINTIFF:  
(LO ESTA DEMANDANDO EL DEMANDANTE):  
Nicole M. Nehoroff, Gilda Saddick, and Sammy Talasazan

NOTICE! You have been sued. The court may decide against you without your being heard unless you respond within 30 days. Read the information below. You have 30 CALENDAR DAYS after this summons and legal papers are served on you to file a written response at this court and have a copy served on the plaintiff. A letter or phone call will not protect you. Your written response must be in proper legal form if you want the court to hear your case. There may be a court form that you can use for your response. You can find these court forms and more information at the California Courts Online Self-Help Center ([www.courtinfo.ca.gov/selfhelp](http://courtinfo.ca.gov/selfhelp)), your county law library, or the courthouse nearest you. If you cannot pay the filing fee, ask the court clerk for a fee waiver form. If you do not file your response on time, you may lose the case by default, and your wages, money, and property may be taken without further warning from the court. There are other legal requirements. You may want to see a lawyer right away. If you do not



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AFTER REALIZING THEY WERE MISSING COMPONENTS NEEDED TO SET UP THE TENT, HE ---

Now arrange the circled letters to form the surprise answer, as suggested by the above cartoon.

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SUMMONS  
(CITACION JUDICIAL)  
Case Number (Número del Caso): 24STCV03738

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(AVISO AL DEMANDADO):  
MICHAEL GRUEN

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## Parts of L.A. a ghost town

[Economy, from B1]  
see the empty streets, it reminded me of COVID," Bass told The Times on Sunday afternoon.

Bass said restaurant operators in Boyle Heights told her the current circumstances were actually worse than what they had faced during COVID-19, because unlike during the pandemic, there had been no ensuing bump in to-go orders. She hypothesized that the issue was compounded by the fact that many people were not going in to work, meaning they didn't have disposable income to eat out.

"They said people aren't ordering, and people probably aren't ordering because they're not working," Bass said.

Gonzalez said the proprietor of one of the restaurants they visited was crying.

"He said, 'It's so empty. I've never seen it like this, and I don't know how we can survive this,'" Gonzalez recalled.

Asked about his message to Trump, Gonzalez spoke about the centrality of immigrants to California's economy.

"For somebody who's supposed to be business oriented, he sure is allowing local businesses to sink and have the effect that these raids are having," Gonzalez said.

Entire sectors of the city's economy cannot function without immigrant labor, Bass said, citing the Fashion District in downtown Los Angeles, where raids have instilled acute fears and muffled business.

Bass also said she worried about how the disquiet would affect rebuilding in fire-ravaged Pacific Palisades, if a significant quotient of the immigrant-heavy construction workforce is scared to show up to job sites.

The mayor underscored similar points in a Sunday morning interview with CNN's Dana Bash, describ-

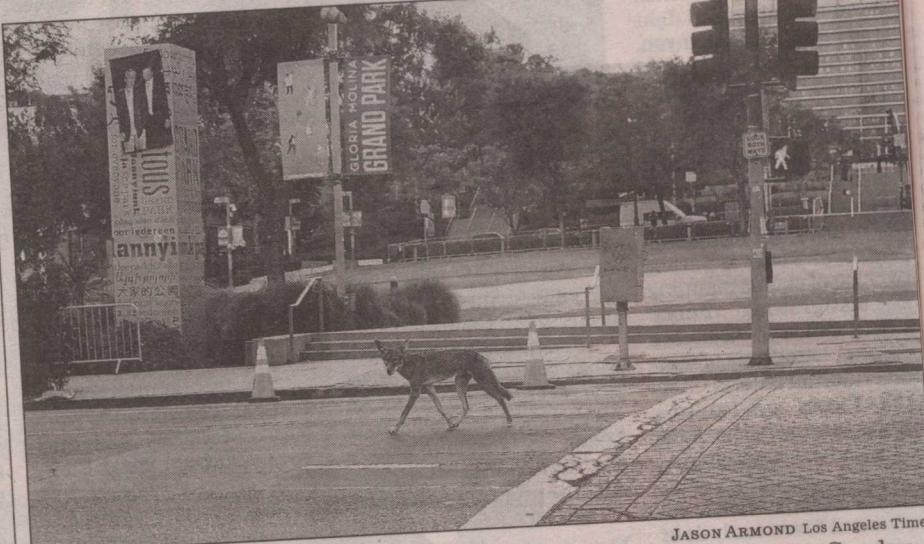
ing the disruption and fear as "a body blow to our economy."

In a post on X, she urged Angelenos to visit small businesses like those in Boyle Heights, writing, "Let's show up, support them and send a message: LA stands with you."

The aftereffects of the ensuing mass protests have also pummeled restaurants and bars in the downtown area, with widespread vandalism in the Civic Center and Little Tokyo areas.

The indefinite 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew imposed on downtown Los Angeles has transformed the nightlife hub into a virtual ghost town after dark, walloping business at establishments that have faced years of financial and operational setbacks after the pandemic and entertainment industry strikes.

However, the mayor said the downtown business community "made a strong appeal for the curfew," given the disruption in the area.



JASON ARMOND Los Angeles Times  
A COYOTE roams near Los Angeles City Hall after an anti-ICE protest Sunday.

## A turning point? Time will tell

[Week, from B1]  
any different?

I called Federico Finchelstein, a historian of fascism and dictatorships who chairs the history department at the New School for Social Research in New York, to ask whether he saw this week as a turning point for the country.

Finchelstein characterized Trump's federalizing of the California National Guard as a clear turn toward authoritarianism. He cited that move, along with attacks on the press and the judiciary and the manhandling of Sen. Alex Padilla on Thursday, as assaults on democratic norms that "create the conditions for a further erosion of democracy."

But he hesitated about categorizing recent events as a turning point.

It's hard while living in the middle of history to know precisely where you stand, he explained.

"It's very difficult to know what is the exact outcome of



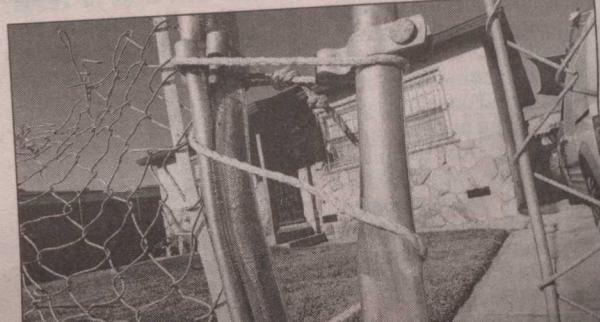
GINA FERAZZI Los Angeles Times  
AN ARRESTED protester yells through an open window of a Los Angeles Police Department bus.

History has shown that when anti-democratic attempts are met with institutional and public resistance, they are less likely to succeed, Finchelstein said.

"In other words, this is not the end of the story," he told me.

This article originally appeared in the Essential California newsletter.

## Home was raided, say neighbors



[Video, from B1]  
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## Morning raid at Home Depot shatters refuge for immigrants

BY BRITTNY MEJIA  
AND RACHEL URANGA

Emma De Paz woke up at 2 every morning for 25 years to make soup, roasted chicken and tamales to sell to work crews picking up their day's supplies at the Home Depot.

She joined other immigrant vendors lining the side streets under tents and over grills in a makeshift community that was something of a refuge for Latino immigrants in the Hollywood area. Abelino Perez Alvarez and his wife sold orange juice, soda and water. Day laborers scrolled through their phones as they waited outside the parking lot in hopes of getting work.

Around 7:30 a.m. Thurs-

day, the refuge was shattered. Dozens of armed agents, many in masks, converged on the parking lot, blocking gates and surrounding the laborers and vendors.

"*Migración! Migración!*" people shouted — and scattered.

They jumped in cars, ran down streets. They hid in stores and construction sites and behind bags of soil in the Home Depot gardening section. Alvarez's wife opened the door of a passing car and jumped in.

"They came in on all sides," said Domingo Rueda Hernandez. Fearful, even as a resident with legal status, he ran behind bags of dirt in the parking lot with others.

"Agarraron los indios,"

[See Raid, A9]



MYUNG J. CHUN Los Angeles Times



MYUNG J. CHUN Los Angeles Times



BRITTNY MEJIA Los Angeles Times

AN IMMIGRATION raid occurred Thursday at a Home Depot, top, in Hollywood. Joshua Espinosa, middle, in orange, was arrested in the raid but says he was later released. Above, a food stand serves work crews getting supplies at the store.

## L.A. bus ridership falls amid anxiety

Metro reports a 10% to 15% decline since start of immigration sweeps. An incident in Pasadena stirs worry.

BY CHRISTOPHER BUCHANAN, COLLEEN SHALBY AND HANNAH FRY

Reports of federal agents detaining commuters sitting at a bus stop in Pasadena this week have heightened concerns about immigration officials targeting public transportation — a key aspect of city life — in their efforts to carry out deportations across Southern California.

For thousands of Angelenos, many of whom are Latino and rely on the city's

vast network of buses and trains to go about their daily lives, the incident in Pasadena has brought a new level of fear and uncertainty for public transportation riders.

After June 6, when immigration agents launched a campaign in Los Angeles to find and capture undocumented immigrants, some residents have started to go underground, staying away from work, school, churches and other public venues for fear of being swept up in a raid.

Now, as many attempt to resume their daily routines, buses and trains have become yet another place to fear. There has been a 10% to 15% decline in bus and rail ridership since immigration enforcement activities began, according to Metro officials.

[See Ridership, A7]



ALEX WROBLEWSKI AFP/Getty Images

IRAN'S ALLIES may target American forces if the U.S. enters the conflict.

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## COURT LETS TRUMP DEPLOY GUARD

Appellate panel backs president's authority, but California will seek to limit what the troops can do in L.A.

BY SONJA SHARP

The U.S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals decided Thursday to leave troops in Los Angeles in the hands of the Trump administration while California's objections are litigated in federal court, finding the president had broad — though not "unreviewable" — authority to deploy the military in American cities.

"We disagree with Defendants' primary argument that the President's decision to federalize members of the California National Guard ... is completely insulated from judicial review," Judge Mark J. Bennett of Honolulu, a Trump appointee, wrote for the appellate panel. "None-theless, we are persuaded that, under long-standing precedent interpreting the statutory predecessor ... our review of that decision must be highly deferential."

California leaders vowed to fight back in federal court.

"This case is far from over," state Atty. Gen. Rob Bonta said. "While the court did not provide immediate relief for Angelenos today, we remain confident in our arguments and will continue the fight."

"We will press forward with our challenge to President Trump's authoritarian use of U.S. military soldiers against citizens," Gov. Gavin Newsom said.

Legal scholars said the decision was expected — particularly as the 9th Circuit has moved from the country's most liberal to one

[See Guard, A9]

## National park visitors told to report 'unpatriotic' signs

BY JACK DOLAN

In his ongoing war on "woke," President Trump has instructed the National Park Service to scrub any language he would deem negative, unpatriotic or smacking of "improper partisan ideology" from signs and presentations visitors encounter at national parks and historic sites.

Instead, his administration has ordered the national parks and hundreds of other monuments and mu-

consistent progress toward becoming a more perfect Union, and unmatched record of advancing liberty, prosperity and human flourishing."

Those marching orders, which went into effect late last week, have left Trump opponents and free speech advocates gasping in disbelief, wondering how park employees are supposed to put a sunny spin on monuments acknowledging slavery, Jim Crow laws and the fight for civil rights. And how they'll square the story of Japanese

The whole thing is "flabbergasting," said Dennis Arguelles, Southern California director for the nonprofit National Parks Conservation Assn. "These stories may not be flattering to American heritage, but they're an integral part of our history."

"If we lose these stories, then we're in danger of repeating some of these mistakes," Arguelles said.

At Manzanar National Historic Site, a dusty encampment in the high desert of eastern California,

# Court rules on limits of Trump's power

[Guard, from A1] of its most "balanced" since the start of Trump's first term.

"It's critically important for the people to understand just how much power Congress has given the president through these statutes," said Eric Merriam, a professor of legal studies at Central Florida University and an appellate military judge.

"Judges for hundreds of years now have given extreme deference to the president in national security decisions, [including] use of the military," Merriam added. "There is no other area of law where the president or executive gets that level of deference."

The appellate panel sharply questioned both sides during Tuesday's hearing, appearing to reject the federal government's assertion that courts had no right to review the president's actions, while undercutting California's claim that Trump had overstepped his authority in sending troops to L.A. to quell a "rebellion against the authority of the United States."

"All three judges seemed skeptical of the arguments that each party was making in its most extreme form," said Elizabeth Goitein, senior director of the Liberty and National Security Program at NYU's Brennan Center for Justice.

"I was impressed with the questions," she went on. "I think they were fair questions, I think they were hard questions. I think the judges were wrestling with the right issues."

The ruling Thursday ap-



THE 9TH CIRCUIT opted to leave National Guard troops in L.A. in the hands of the Trump administration.

peared to return the issue to U.S. District Judge Charles R. Breyer.

Its timing — late in the evening on the federal Juneteenth holiday — was likely intended to give the lower court a chance to review the decision ahead of Friday's planned hearing in San Francisco, where California sought to block Trump from using federalized soldiers to assist in immigration raids, court watchers said.

Unlike Breyer, whose temporary restraining order on June 12 would have re-

turned control of the National Guard to California, the appellate court largely avoided the question of whether the facts on the ground in Los Angeles amounted to a "rebellion."

Instead, the ruling focused on the limits of presidential power.

Bennett's opinion directly refuted the argument — made by Assistant Atty. Gen. Brett Shumate in Tuesday's hearing — that the decision to federalize National Guard troops was "unreviewable."

"Defendants argue that this language precludes review," the judge wrote. "[But Supreme Court precedent] does not compel us to accept the federal government's position that the President could federalize the National Guard based on no evidence whatsoever, and that courts would be unable to review a decision that was obviously absurd or made in bad faith."

He also quoted at length from the 1932 Supreme Court decision in *Sterling vs. Constantin*, writing "[t]he

nature of the [president's] power also necessarily implies that there is a permitted range of honest judgment as to the measures to be taken in meeting force with force, in suppressing violence and restoring order."

Shumate told the judge he didn't know the case when Bennett asked about it early in Tuesday's hearing.

"That is a key case in that line of cases, and the fact he was not aware of it is extraordinary," Goitein said.

Merriam agreed — to a point.

"That's a nightmare we have in law school — it's a nightmare I've had as an appellate judge," he said.

However, "it's actually a good thing that the attorney representing the U.S. was not planning to talk about martial law in front of the 9th Circuit," Merriam said.

One thing Thursday's ruling did not touch is whether the administration violated the Posse Comitatus Act by deputizing the military to act as civilian law enforcement — an allegation California leveled in its original complaint but which Breyer in effect tabled last week.

"The Posse Comitatus Act claim has not been resolved because it was essentially not ripe last Thursday," when troops had just arrived, Goitein said. "It is ripe now."

"Even if the 9th Circuit agrees with the federal government on everything, we could see a ruling from the District Court next week that could limit what troops can do on the ground," she said.

In court Friday morning, Breyer asked both sides to brief him on whether he or the 9th Circuit had power to rule on that issue, leaving the question open through at least Monday.

In the meantime, residents of an increasingly quiet Los Angeles will have to live with the growing number of federal troops.

"[Congress] didn't limit rebellion to specific types of facts," Merriam said. "As much as [Angelenos] might say, 'This is crazy! There's not a rebellion going on in L.A. right now,' this is where we are with the law."

## Raid by feds at a Home Depot leaves trauma, loss in its wake

[Raid, from A1] he said, explaining that they took the dark-skinned people.

The immigration raids in Los Angeles over the last two weeks have captured the world's attention — for the protests, the sporadic violence, the peacetime deployment of the National Guard and U.S. Marines.

But each roundup has inflicted very personal trauma to the people dragged into them, tearing families apart, inciting fear, taking away means to feed children and pay rent.

In a flash, all of this happened Thursday morning in Hollywood — at the neighborhood Home Depot, the lifeblood of economic stability for many working-class immigrants nationwide, which the Trump administration is zeroing in on.

Witnesses and organizers who helped gather information from family members after the sweep said agents picked up more than a dozen vendors, day laborers and customers — including a U.S. citizen.

In a statement Thursday afternoon, Homeland Security Assistant Secretary for

with broken glass littering the parking lot. The usually bustling stands where they sell tamales, juice and coffee for workers starting their day were abandoned. Eggshells lay cracked, orange peels strewn, tortillas left on grills.

Knowing Home Depots have been prime targets, Silvia Menendez had come to the area early to give out "know your rights" cards. When the agents showed up, she began filming as people ran. She saw six agents tackle one person to the ground. Officers with assault rifles and faces covered pulled those arrested into vans and trucks. One of the masked agents began filming her.

"It was really unsettling and scary," she said.

In one video, an armed Border Patrol agent screamed at people who were recording to "get back on the sidewalk!" Another agent told spectators they could record, but to "just let 'em work." A person shouted at them to "die."

Job Garcia, a 37-year-old doctoral student at Claremont Graduate University, was picking up an order at Home Depot.



DAY laborers seek work at an L.A. Home Depot on Friday. Amid raids and fear, they said they need the money.

shouts of "Migracion!" A driver pulled over when they spotted everyone running.

"Ayudanos, ayudanos," someone pleaded with the driver, a stranger. "Help us."

Perez's mother didn't wait. She opened the car door and got in. Another female vendor wasn't able to jump in fast enough and was grabbed by agents, Perez said.

The couple had run in opposite directions. Perez's mother got away, but her father was arrested.

For many, their hearts still pounded as they tried to sort out what happened and where their family members were.

Maegan Ortiz, the executive director of the nonprofit

day laborer program. Their families trickled in after the sweep looking for them, picking up cars and talking to others who already felt a void.

"Lourdes also got taken," one person told another.

Emma De Paz, 58, was nowhere to be found when her brother arrived at her stand. Barrera De Paz, who wore paint-splattered blue jeans, works as a handyman and had rushed from Long Beach after seeing a live video on TikTok of arrests unfolding.

"If anything happens to her, it will be the responsibility of the authorities that took my sister," he said.

Emma, who lost her hus-

band after his heart trans-

plant, said she had to

find legal representation

for some, but Soto-Martinez said the response should be nonviolent protest.

"Nonviolent, direct action broke Jim Crow. It brought down apartheid. We are experiencing that at a national level. We know what works, we have to commit ourselves to that type of

movement," he said.

Federal officials insist they are focusing mainly on criminals. Border Patrol Sector Chief Greg Bovino posted a video this week on his Instagram page featuring Assistant Chief Patrol Agent David Kim.

"Roving patrols in an urban environment like Los Angeles County presents a lot of challenges for us. It's

3,000.

Federal agents raided another Home Depot on Thursday in San Fernando. The city's vice mayor, Maria Elena Solorio, said on an Instagram post that she was looking for answers and had only the first names of those taken. She pleaded for help, alongside Los Angeles City Councilwoman Monica Rodriguez.

"We need to protect one another in these very scary times," Rodriguez said. She urged people to report immigration agent sightings to a rapid response line and cautioned those to remain peaceful and not interfere.

"This is a systematic at-

## OPINION VOICES

**O**N TUESDAY, New York City Comptroller Brad Lander was arrested by several masked Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents at a courthouse in Manhattan as he attempted to steer an individual past immigration authorities. That same day, masked agents outside a Walmart in Pico Rivera detained two individuals — one a target of immigration enforcement, the other a U.S. citizen who tried to intervene.

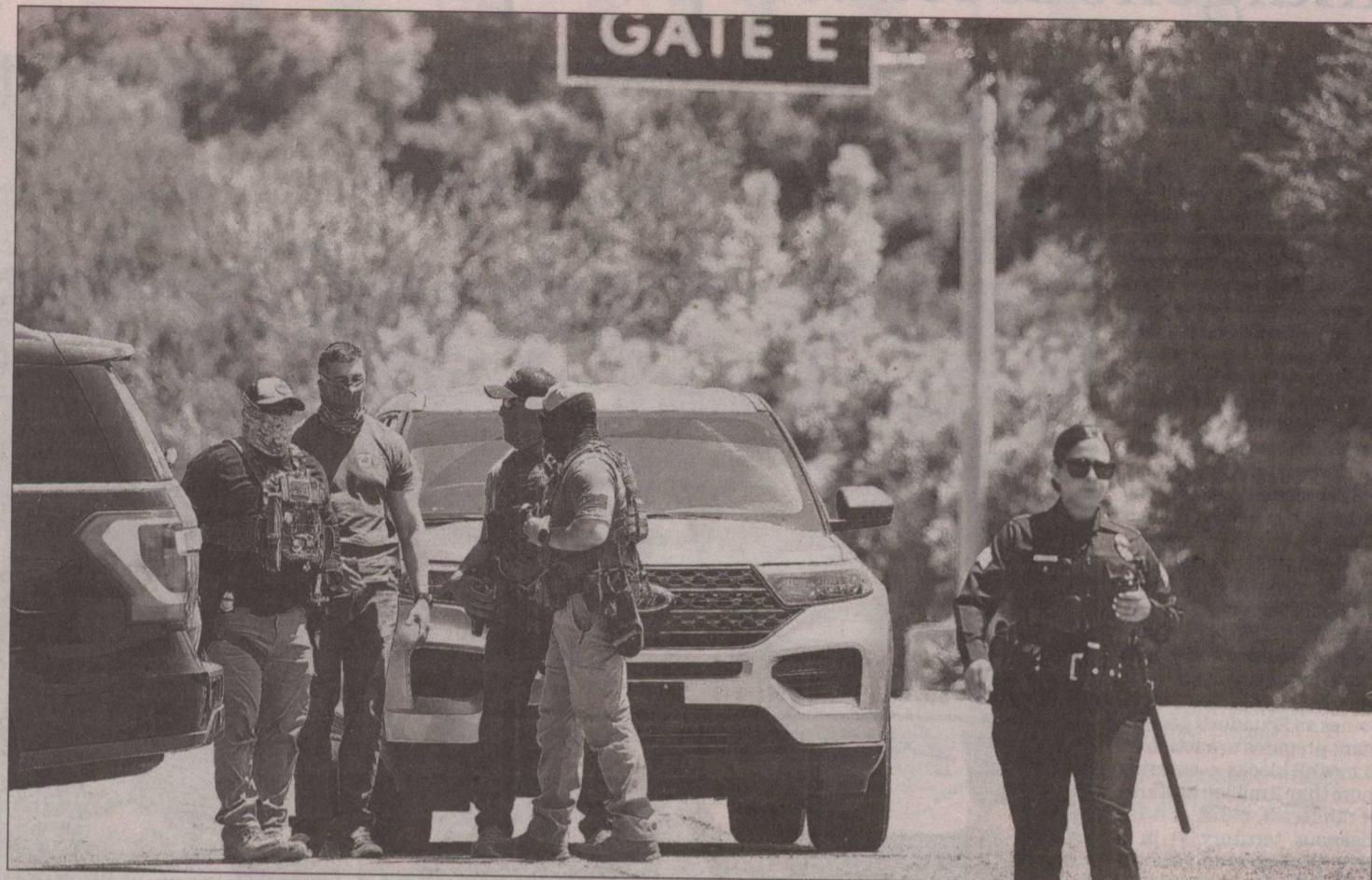
These two scenes from opposite sides of the country illustrate what has become a more common problem: federal agents wearing masks to avoid recognition. On Thursday, masked individuals said to be affiliated with the Department of Homeland Security descended on a Home Depot in Hollywood and on Dodger Stadium.

Masking is not good law enforcement practice. It may contradict Homeland Security regulations, while potentially providing cover for some officers to violate constitutional and civil rights. It undermines agents' authority and endangers public safety as well.

The federal government has no specific policy banning immigration agents from wearing masks. But the fact that such practice is not illegal does not make it acceptable. Department of Homeland Security regulations require immigration officers to identify themselves during an arrest or, in cases of a warrantless arrest, provide a statement explaining how they identified themselves. The use of masks seems to violate the intent of these directives for identification.

ICE agents in masks are becoming disturbingly routine. There were ICE agents in masks at the Los Angeles immigration protests recently, just as there have been at enforcement actions in Minneapolis, Boston, Phoenix and across the country. In March a video of Rumeysa Ozturk, a doctoral student at Tufts University, being detained by masked officers on the street went viral.

There seems to be no uniformity in the face coverings immigration agents wear, which has included ski masks, surgical masks, balaclavas and sunglasses. Such inconsistency across a federal workforce flies in the face of sound policing. Masked agents can confuse both bystanders and ICE targets, which risks people interfering with enforcement actions that look more like kidnappings. The International Assn. of Chiefs of Police has warned that the public "may be intimidated or fearful of officers wearing a face covering, which may heighten their defen-



**SOME** of the individuals Dodgers officials said were denied entry to Dodger Stadium's parking lots on Thursday were masked. MARIO TAMA Getty Images

**Voices RAUL A. REYES GUEST CONTRIBUTOR**

## Masks undermine agents' authority

Enforcement actions that look like kidnappings become riskier with faces covered

sive reactions."

Todd Lyons, acting director of ICE, said earlier this month that immigration agents wear masks to protect themselves. "I'm sorry if people are offended by them wearing masks," he said, "but I'm not going to let my officers and agents go out there and put their lives on the line, their family on the line, because people don't like what immigration enforcement is."

Yet law enforcement jobs come with an assumption of exactly that risk. Consider that the overwhelming majority of police officers, sheriffs and FBI agents fulfill their duties without concealing their faces. Correction officers who deal with prisoners do not wear masks, nor do judges who administer our laws. Because these public employees have such tremendous power, their roles require full transparency.

Besides, ICE agents are increasingly targeting noncriminals,

which mitigates the argument that agents require masks for safety. According to the research site Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse, about 44% of people in ICE detention as of June 1 have no criminal record.

When ICE agents wear masks, there can be unintended consequences. Lately, there has been a spike in people impersonating agents and engaging in harassment, assault and violence. In April, a Florida woman wore a mask as she posed as an ICE agent and attempted to kidnap her ex-boyfriend's wife.

Ironically, the Trump administration has a double standard around the idea of people wearing masks. It has demanded that universities bar students from wearing masks during protests. In the aftermath of the Los Angeles immigration protests, the president posted on social media, "From now

on, MASKS WILL NOT BE ALLOWED to be worn at protests." Shouldn't that principle be applied to both sides?

True, it makes sense for immigration agents to use face coverings when they are making arrests of a high-profile target or conducting an undercover operation. However, masking should be the exception, not the norm. If ICE agents are conducting their duties anonymously, they open the door to potential civil rights and due process violations. The practice gives impunity to agents to make unlawful arrests, without the possibility of public accountability.

Masking can also be seen as a show of intimidation by immigration agents — whether their target is an undocumented migrant or an American citizen, like Newark Mayor Ras Baraka, who was arrested outside a New Jersey detention facility in May. Masked ICE

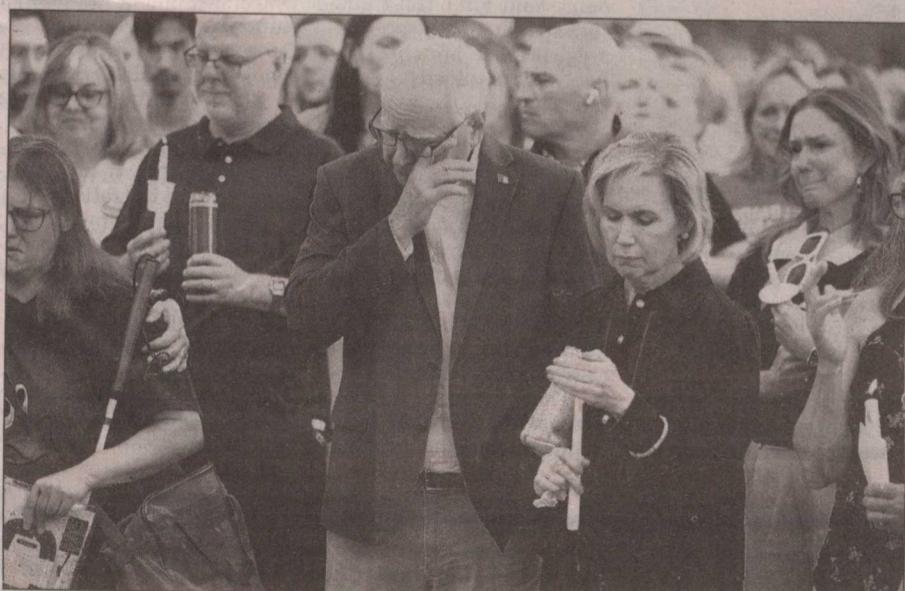
agents give the impression of being a secret police force, which is not good for our democracy.

Last week, two Democratic lawmakers in California introduced a bill that would bar local, state and federal law enforcement officers in California from wearing masks on duty (with certain exceptions). Although this is a step in the right direction, it remains unclear whether such a state measure could be applied to federal agents. Congress should ban the use of masks by immigration agents.

ICE officers should not be allowed to conceal their faces. The public's need for accountability strongly outweighs any rationale for agents' anonymity.

**RAUL A. REYES** is an immigration attorney and contributor to NBC Latino and CNN Opinion. X: @RaulAReyes Instagram: @raulareyes1

## LETTERS



**GOV. TIM WALZ** and his wife, Gwen, mourn former Minnesota House Speaker Melissa Hortman and her husband, Mark, who were killed on June 14. NIKOLAS LIEPINS Associated Press

## A troubling 'downward spiral'

Re "Political violence shaping recent U.S. history," June 16

**T**HE murders of Minnesota Democratic leader Melissa Hortman and her husband, along with the shootings of state Sen. John Hoffman and his wife, signal that the

### Poor choices fail high-speed rail

Re "California won't give up on high-speed rail," Opinion Voices, June 16

The high-speed rail's cost overruns and delays can be traced back to the initial planning stages. Instead of carving up land through the center of California, the state should have used the existing coastline rail. This would have eliminated the need for eminent domain and all the costs associated with those acquisitions. The next big failure was the "go it alone" attitude, not following the advice of consultants from countries that have a high-speed train line. The fact that we failed to follow the leads of friendly countries such as Japan or France was another costly mistake that ate up time.

It is a very sad fact that we call ourselves leaders in the world but to date, there is no high-speed rail in this country.

**ROBERT BACHMANN**

this vain governor finds something a bit more sensible to do with the money.

**MICHELE CASTAGNETTI**  
Los Angeles

### Businesses face chaotic summer

Re "Car wash workers targeted by immigration raids," June 13

This article quoted the owner of one of the businesses raided. He said he would close his shop without the employees detained by Immigration and Customs Enforcement. But beyond loss of revenues, shouldn't he, and the myriad other business and farm owners who are being raided, be deeply worried about their ICE liabilities, not least of all under 8 U.S. Code 1324a? If ICE detains undocumented workers, are employers at risk?

If the present administration is just getting started on its campaign promise to deport 11 million undocumented people,

dollar. The raid was reported on in one page of the Los Angeles Times. On another page was reporting on the Louisiana Legislature's move to enhance immigration enforcement.

I will exercise a sliver of power through my discretionary income. I will resist a planned trip to New Orleans. I will spend my money in Downey, Los Angeles, Whittier and all through California.

**BETTY UYEDA**  
Whittier

### Hold tycoon accountable

Re "State accuses real estate tycoon of violating laws," June 14

In 2022, the Los Angeles Times published several articles about a wealthy real estate family who, for many years, had been accused of taking advantage of thousands of vulnerable low-income tenants. The Nijjar family reportedly let vermin

## BUSINESS

# Video game sequel flops, and studio gets gutted

Insiders discuss how 'Dragon Age' reboot fell short, leading to layoffs at BioWare in Canada

By JASON SCHREIER

In early November, on the eve of the holiday shopping season, staffers at the video game studio BioWare were feeling optimistic. After an excruciating development cycle, they had finally released their latest game, "Dragon Age: The Veilguard," and the early reception was largely positive. The role-playing game was topping sales charts on Steam, and solid, if not spectacular, reviews were rolling in.

But in the weeks that followed, the early buzz cooled as players delved deeper into the fantasy world, and some BioWare employees grew anxious.

For months, everyone at the subsidiary of the video game publisher Electronic Arts had been under intense pressure. The studio's previous two games, "Mass Effect: Andromeda" and "Anthem," had flopped, and there were rumors that if "Dragon Age" underperformed, BioWare might become another of EA's many casualties.

Not long after Christmas, the bad news surfaced. EA announced in January that the new "Dragon Age" had reached only 1.5 million players, missing the company's expectations by 50%. The holiday performance of another recently released title, "EA Sports FC 25," was also subpar, compounding the problem.

As a result of the struggling titles, EA Chief Executive Officer Andrew Wilson said, the company would be significantly lowering its sales forecast for the fiscal year ahead. EA's share price promptly plunged 18%.

"Dragon Age" had a high-quality launch and was well-reviewed by critics and those who played," Wilson said on an earnings call. "However, it did not resonate with a broad enough audience in this highly competitive market."

Days after the sales revision, EA laid off a chunk of BioWare's staff at the studio's headquarters in Edmonton, Canada, and permanently transferred many of the remaining workers to other divisions. For the storied, 30-year-old game maker, it was a stunning fall that left many fans wondering how things had gone so haywire — and what might come next for the stricken studio.

According to interviews with nearly two dozen people who worked on "Dragon Age: The Veilguard," there were several reasons behind its failure, including marketing misfires, poor word of mouth and a 10-year gap

since the previous title.

Above all, sources point to the rebooting of the product from a single-player game to a multiplayer one — and then back again — a switch that muddled development and inflated the title's budget, they say, ultimately setting the stage for EA's potentially unrealistic sales expectations.

A spokesperson for EA declined to comment.

The union between BioWare and EA started off with lofty aspirations. In 2007, EA executives announced they were acquiring BioWare and another gaming studio in a deal worth \$860 million. The goal was to diversify their slate of games, which was heavy in sports titles, such as "Madden NFL," and light in the kind of adventure and role-playing games that BioWare was known for.

Initially, it looked like a smart move thanks to a string of big hits. In 2014, BioWare released "Dragon Age: Inquisition," the third installment in a popular action series dropping players in a semi-open world full of magic, elves and fire-spewing dragons. The fantasy title won the Game of the Year award and sold 12 million copies, according to its executive producer Mark Darrah — a major validation of EA's diversification strategy.

Before long, Darrah and Mike Laidlaw, the creative director, began kicking around ideas for the next "Dragon Age" installment, he told the room, would also be pivoting to an online, live-service game — a decision from above that he disagreed with. He was resigning

from the studio. The assembled staff stayed late through the night, drinking and reminiscing about the franchise they loved.

"I wish that pivot had never occurred," Darrah would later recount on YouTube.

"EA said, 'Make this a live service.' We said, 'We don't know how to do that. We should basically start the project over.'

Former art director Matt Goldman replaced Laidlaw as creative director, and with a tiny team began pushing ahead on a new multiplayer version of "Dragon Age" while everyone else helped to finish "Anthem," which was struggling to coalesce. Goldman pushed for a "pulpy," more lighthearted tone than previous entries, which suited an online game but was a drastic departure from the dark, dynamic stories that fans loved in the fantasy series.

In February 2019, BioWare released "Anthem." Reviews were scathing, calling the game tedious and convoluted. Fans were similarly displeased. On social media, players demanded to know why a studio renowned for beloved stories and characters had made an online shooter with a scattershot narrative.

In the wake of BioWare's second consecutive flop, the multiplayer version of "Dragon Age" continued to take shape. While the previous games in the franchise had featured tactical combat, this one would be all action. Instead of quests that

players would experience only once, it would be full of missions that could be replayed repeatedly with friends and strangers. Important characters couldn't die because they had to persist for multiple players across never-ending gameplay.

As the game evolved over the next two years, the failure of "Anthem" hovered over the studio. Were they making the same mistakes? Some BioWare employees scoffed that they were simply building "Anthem" with dragons.

Throughout 2020, the pandemic disrupted the game's already fraught development. In December, Hudson, the head of the studio, and Darrah, the head of the franchise, resigned. Shortly thereafter, Gary McKay, BioWare's new studio head, revealed yet another shift in strategy. Moving forward, the next "Dragon Age" would no longer be multiplayer.

"We were thinking, 'Does this make sense, does this play into our strengths, or is this going to be another challenge we have to face?'" McKay told Bloomberg News. "No, we need to get back to what we're really great at."

In theory, the reversion back to the series' tried-and-true, single-player format should have been welcome news inside BioWare. But there was a catch. Typically, this kind of pivot would be coupled with a reset and a period of pre-production allowing the designers to formulate a new vision for the game. Instead, the team was asked to change the game's fundamental structure and recast the entire story on the fly, according to people familiar with the new marching orders. They were given a year and a half to finish and told to aim for as wide a market as possible.

This strict deadline became a recurring problem. The development team would make decisions believing that they had less than a year to release the game, which severely limited the stories they could tell and the world they could build. Then the title would inevitably be delayed a few months, at which point they'd be stuck with those old decisions with no chance to stop and reevaluate what was working.

At the end of 2022, amid continually dizzying leadership changes, the studio started distributing an "alpha" build of "Dragon Age" to get feedback internally and from outside playtesters. According to people familiar with the process, the reactions were concerning.

The game's biggest problem, early players agreed, was a lack of satisfying choices and consequences. Previous BioWare titles had presented players with gut-wrenching decisions. Which allies to save? Which factions to spare? Which enemies to slay? Such dilemmas made fans feel like they were shaping the narrative — historically, a big draw for many BioWare games.

But the multiplayer roots of "Dragon Age" limited such choices, according to people familiar with the development. BioWare delayed the game's release again while the team shoehorned in new choices.

As the "Mass Effect" directors took control, they scoffed that the "Dragon Age" squad had been doing a shoddy job and began excluding their leaders from pivotal meetings, according to people familiar with the internal friction.

Over time, the "Mass Effect" team went on to overhaul parts of the game and design a number of additional scenes, including a rich, emotional finale that players loved. But even changes that appeared to improve the game stoked the simmering rancor inside BioWare, infuriating "Dragon Age" leaders who had been told they didn't have the budget for such big, ambitious swings.

"It always seemed that, when the 'Mass Effect' team made its demands in meetings with EA regarding the resources it needed, it got its way," said David Gaider, a former lead writer on the "Dragon Age" franchise who left before development of the new game started. "But 'Dragon Age' always had to fight against headwinds."

Early testers and "Mass Effect" leads complained about the game's snarky tone — a style of video game storytelling, once ascendant, that was quickly falling out of fashion in pop culture but had been part of Goldman's vision for the multiplayer game. Worried that "Dragon Age" could face the same outcome as "Forsaken" — a recent title that had been hammered over its impudent banter — BioWare leaders ordered a belated rewrite of the game's dialogue to make it sound more serious. (In the end, the resulting tonal inconsistencies would only add to the game's poor reception with fans.)

A mass layoff at BioWare and a mandate to work overtime depleted morale while a voice actors' strike limited the writers' ability to revise the dialogue and create new scenes. An initial trailer made the next "Dragon Age" seem more like "Fortnite" than a dark fantasy role-playing game, triggering concerns that EA didn't know how to market the game.

When "Dragon Age: The Veilguard" finally premiered on Halloween after many internal delays, some staff members thought there was a lot to like, including the game's new combat system. But players were less impressed, and sales sputtered.

"The reactions of the fan base are mixed, to put it gently," said Caitie, a popular "Dragon Age" YouTuber. "Some, like myself, adore it for various reasons. Others feel utterly betrayed by certain design choices."

Following the layoffs and staff reassessments at BioWare earlier in the year, a small team of a few dozen employees is working on the next "Mass Effect." After three high-profile failures in a row, questions linger about EA's commitment to the studio. In May, the company relabeled its Edmonton headquarters from a BioWare office to a hub for all EA staff in the area.

Historically, BioWare has never been the most important studio at EA, which generates more than \$7 billion in annual revenue largely from its sports games and shooters. Depending on the timing of its release, "Dragon Age" could be a



JUSTIN SULLIVAN Getty Images

ELECTRONIC ARTS had potentially unrealistic sales expectations, sources say.

since the previous title.

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## MACROSCOPE

## Fixing U.S. Air Traffic Control

A Federal Aviation Administration plan to upgrade U.S. air traffic control technologies targets problem 'metropoles,' airports grouped by region. Still in early stages, contracts are likely to roll out quickly if Congress approves the plan.

Sources: GAO, William Blair, FAA

## Difficult airspaces

Metroplexes targeted for FAA upgrades	Airports with chronic scheduling issues	% flights not on time	Average min. late
Atlanta, Charlotte, Cleveland - Detroit, Denver, Las Vegas, North Texas, Houston, Northern California, South-Central Florida, Southern California, Washington, D.C.	New York (JFK)	61.6	104.3
	New York (La Guardia)	58.1	102.0
	Newark (EWR)	59.6	97.3
	Orlando (MCO)	59.4	92.8
	Denver (DEN)	57.0	88.4
	Chicago (MDW)	60.2	74.6

## Potential modernization vendors

Company	Ticker	FAA involvement
Leidos	LDOS	Received 10-year contract to upgrade existing ATC system as part of NISC program.
Parsons	PSN	Contracted to provide engineering, construction, other services.
Amentum	AMTM	Engineering design services for ATC facilities.
Iridium	IRDM	Space-based ADS-B tracking via Alreon.
Palantir	PLTR	FAA contracts for data services. Includes aircraft certification, advanced analytics.
Honeywell	HON	Ground, airborne traffic management systems.

## Key initiatives in new control system

Full replacement of TDM network to IP; add 4,000 new fiber network connections	2025-2028
Replace TDM radios to full voice IP; add 2500 new radios	2025-2027
Replace cooperative beacon, non-cooperative surveillance; Replace 618 radars	2025-2027
Replace current Traffic Movement Radar	2025-2028
Rearchitect the Traffic Flow Management System	2025-2028
Deploy additional flight strips to 89 towers	2025-2028
Build 6 new Air Traffic Control Centers, focusing on co-location, hard-to-staff, needed facilities	2025-2028
Deploy 15 new Towers and 15 co-located TRACONs	FY25-FY28
Deploy 15 new Towers and 15 co-located TRACONs	FY25-FY28

## INDUSTRY SNAPSHOT

## AIR TRANSPORTATION

## Some Air Traffic Systems Rely On '60s Technology

## AIR TRAFFIC FROM A1

important infrastructure project that we've had in this country for decades," Duffy said at a June 2 press conference at Newark airport, as reported by NPR. "Everyone agrees this is nonpartisan. Everyone knows we have to do it."

But can Duffy convince a budget-knotted Congress to approve the funds? And is his frantically tight three-year timeline even close to realistic?

For investors, which companies could benefit? Top names related to air traffic control projects in the past have included Leidos (LDOS), RTX (RTX), Verizon (VZ) and L3Harris (LHX). Leidos and Palantir (PLTR) so far are top contenders for the current modernization effort, along with scores of private companies.

Out of 138 U.S. air traffic control systems, a 2023 operational risk assessment from the FAA deemed 51, or 37%, to be unsustainable. Another 54, or 39%, were potentially unsustainable. Thirty-three systems had no issues.

The "unsustainable" systems have significant shortages in spare parts, shortfalls in long-term funding and little or no funding available for maintenance, upgrades or repairs.

"Potentially unsustainable" systems still have some operational runway, but are starting to flash warning lights regarding equipment, technology or cash shortages.

The FAA completed a 2024 operational risk assessment report, and a 2025 study is underway. The agency did not respond to requests to share those reports.

Although the agency report did not identify specific at-risk airports, various projects and upgrades point to a number of airspaces and air traffic control systems.

Regional air traffic control systems singled out for attention in the past include both Northern and Southern California, Denver, Houston, North Texas and Cleveland. Detroit, Atlanta, Charlotte, Southern and Central Florida, Washington, D.C., and Las Vegas were also named. The 11 systems, which the FAA calls metroplexes, were updated with Performance Based Navigation (PBN) infrastructure to increase safety and efficiency in the airspaces in a program scheduled for completion by 2022, but the GAO reported certain projects faced delays.

The Northeast Corridor, including Boston, the New York City area, Philadelphia, and the Washington, D.C., area, were also previously highlighted as priorities, receiving some FAA upgrades. In addition, the Atlantic coast routes and Alaska's airspace were selected for upgrade programs or were noted as areas of concern in various reports. A program running from 2019-23 implemented a number of improvements along Atlantic coast routes to reduce delays and congestion between the Northeast Corridor and the Florida metroplex.

## America's Airspace

The FAA employs around 46,000 workers, according to the latest figures from the Wall Street Journal and the FAA website. Its personnel service an average of more than 45,000 flights daily for more than 2.9 million airline passengers across 29 million miles of airspace.

"There are a number of challenges



Transportation Secretary Sean Duffy announced a new air traffic control infrastructure plan on May 8.

**"We've kicked this can down the road for so long and so hard, that it probably has very little aluminum left and probably has a lot of duct tape."**

*Kevin Walsh, director of information technology and cybersecurity at the Government Accountability Office*

nesses" in how the FAA manages investments to modernize air traffic control systems. The report noted that the FAA has taken years to establish costs, schedule and performance baselines for investments that the GAO reviewed. As of May 2024, completion dates for investments in certain "especially concerning" systems remained at least six to 10 years away.

## How Old Is U.S. Technology?

Some of the systems and equipment are JFK-era technology. Other air traffic control processes still run on floppy disks.

"To still have systems operational after 60 years is, on the one hand, kind of incredible and a testament to American design to have these systems still operating at an incredible level," Walsh said.

Still, the FAA has issues with maintenance due to the age of some systems. Workers with system knowledge may have retired or moved on, and there may be limited parts available for certain radars and beacons, Walsh said.

Some manufacturers may no longer be in business, contributing to supply-chain issues. Staffing and funding shortages have further complicated the modernization efforts.

The FAA said it was "unable to accommodate" an interview for this story.

## Crashes, Lost Communications

The series of crashes, near misses and delays this year left the system's shortcomings on full display.

its flights in and out of Newark.

Duffy in May created an emergency task force, tapping executives from Verizon, L3Harris and the FAA to implement three new telecommunications networks between New York and Philadelphia.

To make room for upgrade efforts and new runway construction, the FAA on June 6 limited the number of flights and departures at Newark to 34 per hour through Oct. 25. Arrivals and departures are limited to 28 per hour on the weekends from Sept. 1 through the end of the year.

Besides Newark, an outage at Denver International Airport in mid-May left up to 20 pilots unable to communicate with air traffic controllers for up to six minutes, according to reports. Philadelphia, Newark and Hartsfield-Jackson Atlanta International airports all reported power or air traffic control outages in May, prompting flight delays.

Communications outages like the one in Newark present a "nightmare" scenario for air traffic control personnel, said Jeff Wonser, a 30-year air traffic control veteran. Wonser served at airports and control towers in Detroit, Indianapolis, Cincinnati and Atlanta. He retired from his air traffic control career in 2021.

Wonser said the typical air traffic control shift consists of "hours of boredom complemented by moments of sheer terror" when an issue arises in the routine.

Wonser said he had three instances in his career where the radar scope "went blank," causing a loss of communications and tracking ability. In most cases, systems are in place to send messages to the cockpit in such scenarios. But the backup systems delay communications, and are "in no way an ideal situation," according to Wonser.

Such secondary systems may not have been available in New York, where airspace is extremely busy given the proximity of Newark, LaGuardia and Kennedy airports, so any outages or issues would be even more dangerous.

Transportation Department's plan also calls for investments in radar sensors, a new flight management system and a data management system, among other equipment.

The House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee at the end of April budgeted \$12.5 billion for air traffic control modernization. But the Modern Skies Coalition, an industry group of aviation experts and pilot association representatives, estimates that at least \$31 billion in emergency funding should be appropriated over the next three years to implement Duffy's plan, NPR reported. That's in addition to the FAA's annual technology and facilities budget.

The FAA declined to comment on how the new air traffic control plan differs from past upgrade efforts. Current budget talks leave unclear whether Senate lawmakers join the House's support for air traffic control upgrades.

## Who Will Lead The Project?

Attempting to move ahead, Duffy on June 3 announced the FAA was "seeking top innovators," looking for one in particular to act as a lead developer for the air traffic control overhaul. Duffy and the FAA hosted Industry Days on June 10-12 "to encourage companies to participate and discuss the plan."

"This is a once-in-a-generation opportunity for a new, world-class air traffic system," FAA Acting Administrator Chris Rocheleau said in the release. "We need world-class innovators to step up and tell us the best way to build it."

"The FAA wants innovative ideas, new technologies and new procurement strategies," the agency wrote in the release. The integrator will manage the effort, including acquiring capabilities and deploying the new technology.

## Prior Upgrade Efforts

However, upgrades aren't a new idea. Efforts in the 1980s to upgrade the nation's air traffic control network saw actual costs balloon to around \$36 billion from \$10 billion, according to GAO's 2023 report.

in hitting milestones since 2018, according to a 2023 GAO report to congressional committees. The Covid-19 pandemic was one big reason. The GAO found that the complexity of software development, unanticipated system requirements and a host of other factors also presented challenges or delays.

The FAA has a long list of contractors to develop, maintain and modernize its various programs.

Leidos provides various air traffic management system services as well as operational analysis and reporting systems. The aerospace unit of Honeywell (HON) supplies a broad range of systems and technologies used at many U.S. airports.

RTX developed and maintains the Standard Terminal Automation Replacement System (STARS) at TRACON facilities. The terminal airspace management system combines automation with radar data, flight information and various levels of weather data to allow controllers to handle more traffic.

L3Harris landed a contract to deploy the FAA Telecommunications Infrastructure (FTI) network, which provides communications infrastructure and the intranet for various FAA and Defense Department facilities. Via work with L3Harris, the FAA reportedly tested Starlink this year for connectivity at certain locations. But Elon Musk's company denied intent to take over existing FAA contracts.

The FAA in 2023 awarded Verizon a \$2.4 billion contract to establish, integrate and operate a more modern network infrastructure, as part of the FAA Enterprise Network Services (FENS) program.

Another FAA program, Systems Engineering and Technical Innovative Solutions (SETIS), divided a \$2.3 billion, 10-year contract among 10 prime small business contractors and five large business contractors.

Large-business prime contractors for the SETIS awards include Booz Allen Hamilton (BAH), LS Technologies, Boblis, Oasis Systems and Science Applications International Corp. (SAIC).

Prime small-business vendors include A3 Technology, Advanced Sciences & Technologies, Atac Corp., Cavan Solutions, Concept Solutions, Crown Consulting, Enroute Computer Solutions, GMA Solutions, Mosaic ATM and Veracity Engineering.

Sixty SETIS contracts were awarded in 2023, 52 in 2024 and one so far in 2025, according to A3 Tech.

## Palantir, Leidos Take Lead Roles

William Blair analyst Louie DiPalma noted that Leidos, Parsons, Amentum, Iridium and Palantir are potential vendors for Duffy's FAA air traffic control modernization.

Leidos is the prime contractor for a 10-year, \$1.7 billion contract to upgrade the existing air traffic control system as part of the FAA's National Airspace System Integration Support Contract (NISC) program.

Parsons is the prime contractor for a 12-year, \$1.3 billion contract to provide engineering, construction and other services for the Technical Support Services Contract (TSSC) program.

Amentum provides engineering design services for air traffic con-

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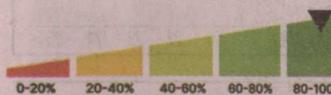
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MARKET EXPOSURE / B6



LEADERS & SUCCESS / A3

**The 'Human' Designer**  
Architect Michael Graves lent his talents to mobility devices

THE NEW AMERICA / A4

**Hims & Hers On A Roll**  
The nimble medtech emerges as a dark horse in weight loss

INTERNET & TECHNOLOGY / A7

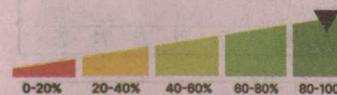
**Relentless Innovator**  
Wall Street embraces KalVista despite its regulatory setback

EXCHANGE TRADED FUNDS / A13

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Now is a good time to fine-tune your exposure to Chinese funds

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# IBD WEEKLY

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## The Illusion Of Control

**The FAA's plan to update an overwhelmed U.S. air traffic system is daunting. Who will provide the technology?**



Krause

BY HARRISON MILLER  
INVESTOR'S BUSINESS DAILY

**T**he Newark airport's air traffic control dilemma lit up when radar screens went dark in early May. Air traffic controllers lost radio contact with pilots. Some were reportedly so unnerved they later took medical leave, then resigned. United Airlines canceled 35 flights a day at the facility. This month, the FAA slashed the number of flights to and from the New Jersey facility through year-end.

The air traffic control issues were not new. Nor are they confined to Newark Liberty International Airport. But Newark has become a beacon of serious, widespread issues in the U.S. network of aircraft communications and tracking technologies, which is decades behind the times. The shortcomings go

well beyond endangering airline efficiency and service. Public safety is a very real and immediate concern.

After Newark's outage, the Federal Aviation Administration once again hurried out a fresh set of plans to upgrade air traffic control technology and infrastructure, as well as staffing, nationwide. Decades of such plans under a long string of administrations had cobbled together fixes and upgrades. But this time, if Washington follows through, Americans can expect to see billions of dollars in spending over the next several years, benefiting a long list of technology suppliers and other companies, as well as airlines and travelers.

The current FAA, under Department of Transportation Secretary Sean Duffy, is pledging a quick fix. "This is the most

SEE AIR TRAFFIC ON A8

## INVESTING ACTION PLAN

STOCKS TO WATCH

### A Bullish Base (Times Five)

The market rally has carved its way through some challenging headlines. A number of stocks have forged new flat bases, resisting selling pressure, including Toast (TOST), MercadoLibre (MELI), Uber Technologies (UBER), NRG Energy (NRG) and UL Solutions (ULS). Flat bases typically reflect unusual strength as a stock stubbornly holds its ground. Toast, MercadoLibre and Uber are trying to rebound from key support, with potential early entries. The trio have all set up their flat bases near the 50-day moving average. NBC F

ECONOMIC CALENDAR

### Keeping A Wary Eye On Jobs

The coming week's economic data includes the Fed's primary inflation rate, but weekly jobless claims, which have been flashing yellow, may carry the most weight for financial markets. The personal income and outlays report for May, out Friday, includes the core PCE price index, which is expected to rise a tame 0.14%, though the Fed's key gauge of core inflation is expected to tick up to 2.6% on a 12-month basis, according to the FactSet consensus. Initial claims for unemployment insurance fell to 211,000 last week, down from 214,000 the previous week.

AEROSPACE

### A Drone Leader Gains Altitude

The war in Ukraine and escalating conflicts in the Middle East put AeroVironment's (AVAV) late-Tuesday fiscal fourth-quarter earnings in the spotlight. AeroVironment's Switchblade drone, also referred to as a Kamikaze or suicide drone, has been utilized by Ukraine and Israel. The Department of Defense in August last year awarded AeroVironment a nearly \$1 billion contract to deliver multiple variants of the weapon. FactSet analysts expect AeroVironment to report a 225% year-over-year increase in earnings per share.

SEMICONDUCTORS

### Chip Bellwether Gets AI Lift

Micron Technology (MU) will report its fiscal Q3 results late Wednesday. Analysts expect the memory-chip maker to post a 156% earnings gain and a 30% increase in sales, thanks to robust AI data center demand for high-bandwidth memory (HBM) products. Micron stock has been on a steady climb this month, helped by the release of its latest HBM products.

SEE MORE INVESTING ACTION PLAN ON A2

# Broadcom Rising On AI Initiatives

BY MATTHEW GALGANI

INVESTOR'S BUSINESS DAILY

Outshining Magnificent Seven stocks Nvidia (NVDA) and Meta Platforms (META), artificial intelligence powerhouse Broadcom (AVGO) dominated the latest list of new buys by the best mutual funds. Broadcom raked in \$24.49 billion from these leading money managers. The investment dwarfed the still-impressive sums poured into Meta (\$7.15 billion) and Nvidia (\$5.26 billion).

Boosted by that institutional demand, Broadcom has etched a breakout and remains in buy range. The AI-chip maker also earns a spot on IBD Leaderboard. Nvidia is on the Leaderboard watchlist.

A global powerhouse in AI semiconductors, Broadcom works across a wide range of industries. From data centers and cybersecurity to financial services and automotive solutions, Broadcom is instrumental in fostering today's AI infrastructure.

Just this month, the semiconductor designer has launched multiple new initiatives. Broadcom, which owns VMware, announced the general availability of VMware Cloud Foundation 9.0, a platform for the modern private cloud. It also shipped Tomahawk 6, the world's first 102.4 Terabits/sec of switching capacity in a single chip. Broadcom also unveiled advancements to VMware Tanzu CloudHealth with new AI-powered features like Intelligent Assist and Smart Summary.

On June 3, Broadcom broke out past a 251.88 buy point just days before reporting results for fiscal third quarter. Broadcom narrowly beat Wall Street's targets but shares fell.

Showing resilience, Broadcom has held support at its 21-day exponential moving average, closing the week just shy of buy range.

In other signs of rising technical strength, the 21-day line continues to soar past the 50-day moving average, which has crossed back above the longer-term 200-day benchmark.

With a 98 Composite Rating, Broadcom stock slightly eclipses Nvidia's score of 97.

## Leaderboard Chart

**Broadcom**  
Elec-Semiconductor Fabss

(AVGO) \$249.99 +1.29 +0.52%

Volume: 114,617,900  
Avg. Weekly Volume: 123,556,140  
Volume % Change: -7%

Broadcom teases 251.88 buy point and all-time high

## IBD STOCK CHECKLIST

### Market & Industry Performance

Composite Rating 98 ✓  
Market up trend under pressure 80%-100% ✓  
Industry Group Rank (1 to 197) 55 —

### Fundamental Performance

#### CURRENT EARNINGS

EPS Due Date 8/28/2025  
EPS Rating 99 ✓  
EPS % Chg (Last Qtr) 44% ✓  
Last 3 Qtrs Avg EPS Growth 39% ✓  
# Qtrs of EPS Acceleration 0 x  
EPS Est % Chg (Current Qtr) 34% ✓  
Estimate Revisions ↑ ✓  
Last Quarter % Earnings Surprise 0.7% —

#### ANNUAL EARNINGS

3 Yr EPS Growth Rate 17% x  
Consecutive Yrs of Annual EPS Growth 4 ✓  
EPS Est % Chg for Current Year 36% ✓

#### SALES, MARGIN, ROE

SMR Rating A ✓  
Sale % Chg (Last Qtr) 20% ✓  
3 Yr Sales Growth Rate 24% x  
Annual Pre-Tax Margin 131.2% ✓  
Annual ROE 51.8% ✓  
Debt/Equity Ratio 66% ✓

#### Technical Performance

##### PRICE AND VOLUME

Price \$249.99 ✓  
RS Rating 92 ✓  
% Off 52 Week High -6% ✓  
Price vs. 50-Day Moving Average 15% ✓  
50-Day Average Volume 24.8 mil ✓

##### SUPPLY AND DEMAND

Market Capitalization \$1176 B ✓  
Accumulation/Distribution Rating B ✓  
Up/Down Volume 1.9 ✓  
% Change In Funds Owning Stock 6% ✓  
Qtrs Of Increasing Fund Ownership 8 ✓

##### Pass ✓ Neutral — Fail x

Mar '22 Jun Sep Dec Mar '23 Jun Sep Dec Mar '24 Jun Sep Dec Mar '25 Jun

## Weekly Chart

(AVGO) \$249.99 +1.29 +0.52%

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Broadcom teases 251.88 buy point and all-time high

Rising 10-week moving average climbs above 40-week line, a sign of technical strength

Relative strength line soars toward 52-week high

Look for upside volume to rise as Broadcom retakes buy zone

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